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JOB SATISFACTION AND IT'S IMPACT ON WORKER PERFORMANCE

by



WILLIAM D. FLETCHER

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
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ABSTRACT


This thesis examines the impact selected work variables have on the satisfaction of rank and file workmen. Also examined is the relationship of worker attitudes to absenteeism, turnover, and job performance.

The study begins with a review of relevant literature which has contributed to contemporary thought regarding worker motivation and job satisfaction. This is presented in order to establish a theoretical base for understanding the behaviors of people in the work environment. The discussion directs attention to the ways in which individuals develop satisfactions and it is particularly relevant to supervisors who wish to improve their understanding of their subordinates.

A survey of the management literature is then made in order to elucidate the effects highly fragmented jobs have on workman satisfactions. The discussion goes on to include the effect that supervisory methods, working groups and wages have on the establishing of positive or negative attitudes of first level employees. Finally, there is an examination of the relationship that worker satisfactions have with the selected work behaviors mentioned above.

The study is intended to discuss certain questions of concern to management by focusing on some theoretical and practical issues which may aid in the improvement of supervisor-subordinate relations in industrial organizations.

I would also like to thank Mr. Albert West, supervising of the thesis, for his counsel and guidance during the preparation. My gratitude is also extended to committee members, Dr. Earl S. Smith and Dr. Martin Hartline.



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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

This thesis proposes to examine some of the literature which bears upon the relationship between workman satisfactions and certain behaviors he manifests in the workplace. It is the author's belief that this objective will be satisfied by:

- (1) Analysing differing theories which have contributed to contemporary thought regarding worker satisfactions with the intention of providing a framework which will enable one to formulate a conceptualization of the psychological processes which takes place when a worker develops satisfactions and dissatisfactions.
- (2) Surveying the empirical research bearing upon selected work variables considered to be significantly related to job satisfaction. These variables are job content, supervision, work groups and wages.
- (3) Examining the impact of workman satisfac-

tions upon job turnover, absenteeism and performance.

Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study is essentially aimed at providing a review of the more relevant literature which bears upon the topic outlined above. It is obvious to anyone reviewing the literature, however, that the multitude of material that supports, overlaps, and at times contradicts itself on the question of worker satisfactions and the impact it has for behavior can be overwhelming. Therefore, to keep the review within manageable limits, the focus of this thesis is restricted to a discussion of the consequences rank and file worker job satisfactions have for the dependent variables of turnover, absenteeism and performance.

Overview of the Topic Area

The past two decades have witnessed an impressive development in management theory and practice. Many of the developments are a direct result of contributions from the various disciplines of the behavioral sciences which have changed the way of thinking about human behavior. Traditional approaches to behavior have been greatly modified in the face of this new evi-

dence and in many quarters an appreciation for the complexity of man's behavior has replaced the simple assumption that individuals in organizations are "passive instruments motivated only by economic means".¹

Much of the behavioral research has sought to determine how people behave and why they do so. The research has followed many directions; however, one of particular significance for management has centered about human motivation and satisfaction. Most of the work in this area has produced recognition of the fact that human behavior is directed toward the satisfaction of human needs. A major focus of these investigations have been on differentiating various human needs, isolating particular needs and examining their effect on behavior, and studying how these needs are structured.² Another important direction research on motivation and satisfaction has taken involves the recognition of the cognitive aspects of individuals

¹For the view of human behavior associated with traditional approaches to management see, Joseph L. Massis, "Management Theory," in Handbook of Organizations, ed. by James G. March (Chicago, Illinois: Rand McNally and Company, 1965), p. 405; Edgar H. Schein, Organizational Psychology (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1965), pp. 43-65.

²The investigation into this aspect of motivation and satisfaction was originally documented by Maslow and for a complete discussion see A. H. Maslow, "A Theory of Human Motivation," Psychological Review, 50 (1943), pp. 370-396.

and the effect that values, expectations, and perceptions can have on behavior.³ These contributions have produced models which not only reflect the complexity of behavior but also serve to show how certain work variables will affect behaviors.

Work content, supervisory behavior, working groups, and wages have all been identified as key variables in organizational settings which influence the satisfaction and ultimately the activities of workers. A considerable amount of evidence has also been gathered which indicates that job behavior resulting from negative attitudes about the work environment are culminating in costly absenteeism, turnover and inept performance. In view of this, it seems to be of particular importance to discuss, under one cover, some factors which will contribute to improved morale and job satisfaction.

Organization of the Study

This introductory chapter has stated the purpose and scope of the study to be undertaken, and has presented an overview of the topic area. Chapter II is

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For an insight into the cognitive aspects of satisfaction, see Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils, Toward a Theory of Action (New York: Harper and Row, 1951), p. 53.

directed toward an examination of various psychological theories which have aided in the development of contemporary thought regarding motivation and satisfaction. Also discussed are theoretical conceptualizations which have developed from these theories and which are intended to provide a framework upon which one may more easily understand human behavior. Chapter III reviews the relevant literature which bears upon selected work variables and the impact they may have in the development of worker satisfactions. The intention of this chapter is to present to the reader several areas where positive or negative attitudes may develop in the workplace. Chapter IV discusses the implications that satisfactions will have for job turnover, job absenteeism and work performance behaviors. Chapter V summarizes the value this paper has for the supervisor in the workplace. Also contained in this chapter are some concluding remarks of the author.

CHAPTER II

THE THEORETICAL BASIS OF SATISFACTION

Introduction

If one is to examine the behavioral impact of job satisfaction upon absenteeism, turnover, and performance, it seems prudent to start by presenting a set of conceptual tools about human personality and motivation. This necessity holds because an individual's predisposition or inclination to act is an important variable in determining and identifying those factors which will impinge upon, and effect worker satisfactions.

Instinct Theory

One of the earliest ways of thinking about personality and motivation is found in the theory of instinct. The central assumption of this theory is derived from Darwin's survival of the species notion, indicating that because life is a struggle for survival, nature has provided certain innate ways of warning of approaching threats to continued existence.

William McDougall, one of the foremost proponents of the instinct doctrine, believed that man was natively endowed with certain instincts which led him to react in specific ways to specific situations. He said "...men are moved by a variety of impulses whose nature has been determined through long ages of evolutionary process without reference to the life of men in civilized societies...."¹

McDougall felt that he could account for the variation and complexities of human behavior on the basis of a dozen or so instincts. These he listed as (1) the Parental or Protective Instinct, (2) The Instinct of Combat, (3) The Instinct of Curiosity, (4) The Food-Seeking Instinct, (5) The Instinct of Avoidance, Repulsion, or Disgust, (6) The Instinct of Escape, (7) The Gregarious Instinct, (8) Primitive Passive Sympathy Instinct, (9) The Instinct of Self Assertion and Submission, (10) The Mating Instinct, (11) The Acquisitive Instinct, (12) The Constructive Instinct, (13) The Instinct of Appeal, (14) Minor Instincts (this included the tendencies to sneeze, cough, scratch any itching spot, to defecate, and to urinate).²

¹William McDougall, An Introduction to Social Psychology (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1908), p. 10.

²William McDougall, Outline of Psychology (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923), pp. 130-176.

Obviously, some discrete actions of man can be classified as instinctive, but to explain all of man's behavior on the basis of McDougall's list of human endowments is questionable. Indeed, researchers such as Bernard argued that the proponents of instinctive theory could not agree on either the number or kinds of instincts that are to be designated in accounting for all human behavior. His investigation of the literature showed that a total of 5864 different instincts had been discussed by various theorists.³ Moreover, Bernard pointed out that some instinctive acts as suggested by McDougall, such as parental protection, actually varied from culture to culture, thus suggesting that this act is the product of learning rather than an inherited characteristic of man.⁴

Arguments regarding the learned aspects of various behaviors that had been labelled as instinctive were also posed by psychologists like Kuo and Dunlap. Kuo, for example, concluded from an examination of the literature that all behavior was the result of reactions to stimulations and that activity could not be explained by any other means. Kuo summed up his paper by stating "my point is that every individual reaction is called

³ L. L. Bernard, Instinct, A Study in Social Psychology (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1924), p. 217.

⁴ Ibid., p. 380.

forth by a specific stimulus, it cannot be directed or determined by anything else."⁵ Dunlap, also on the basis of a survey of the literature, went as far as to suggest that there was no such thing as instinct, but "...that all behavior is the result of learning".⁶ These critics claimed that the instinct concept did not explain behavior and held that to say, as McDougall had, that exploration was due to a curiosity instinct, or that seeking food was due to a food-seeking instinct was both tautologous and meaningless. Indeed, the circularity of the instinct theory prompted Fowler to write, "the presence of an instinct was inferred from and at the same time, used to explain the behavior observed. With it's circular definition, the instinct concept could hardly serve as a scientific explanation of behavior."⁷

Because of the inability of the traditional instinct concepts to adequately explain behavior, investigators were moved to seek new areas of research. Before considering these areas, however, the impression should not be left that the instincts concept has no value in

⁵Zing Yang Kuo, "The Fundamental Error of the Concept of Purpose and the Trial and Error Fallacy." Psychological Review, 35 (1928), pp. 414-433.

⁶K. Dunlap, "Are There Any Instincts?" Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 14 (1919-20), pp. 307-311.

⁷Harry Fowler, Curiosity and Exploratory Behavior (New York; The Macmillan Company, 1965), p. 17.

the understanding of human motivation, for as Edward Murray wrote, "Man is born with a great many potentialities that interact with a complex physical and social world to form a spectrum of motivational systems. There is probably not a single motive that is entirely innate or entirely learned."⁸ Later in this chapter, it will be explained how instinctive activities do in fact affect the behavior of the individual. For the moment it will suffice to observe that instinct, as proposed by McDougall, is not adequate to explain human behavior.

Hedonistic Theory

Many of the contemporary concepts of motivated behavior have their origin in the principles of hedonism. This theory which finds its roots in the teachings of the early Greeks and the writings of utilitarians such as Jeremy Bentham and James Mill, has as its central assumption, the idea that behavior is directed toward pleasurable activities and away from painful ones. "The theory of life," wrote Mill, "is founded on the idea that pleasure and freedom from pain are the only things desirable as ends; and that all desirable things are desirable either for the pleasure inherent in them-

⁸Edward J. Murray, Motivation and Emotion (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1965), p. 110.

selves or as means to the promotions of pleasure and the prevention of pain."⁹

Herbert Spencer, like Bentham and Mill, held that "...the ultimate end of life is the production of the greatest pleasures of all...", but he differed from the latter two in that he connected the concept of hedonism with the doctrine of evolution.¹⁰ Spencer developed the thought that the human species was biologically developed in such a manner as to be constantly seeking pleasurable goals and therefore all man's activities could be viewed as being directed to this end.

Later researchers, notably Leonard Troland, proposed a theory of human motivation which clearly illustrated this evolutionary-hedonistic concept. Troland's theory however, differed from Spencer in that he proposed that all behavior could be related back to the physiological structure. This point of view is reflected in his definition of the following terms:

Beneception - A process in a sense-organ or afferent nerve channel which is indicative of conditions or events

⁹ John Plamenatz, The English Utilitarians (Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell, 1958), p. 109.

¹⁰ John Watson, Hedonistic Theories (New York: Macmillan and Company, 1895), pp. 180-243.

that are typically beneficial to the individual or species.

Nociception - Process in a sense organ or afferent nerve channel which is indicative of conditions or events which are typically injurious to the individual or species.

Neutroception - Any kind of sensory process which is neither beneceptive or nociceptive.¹¹

As examples of beneception Troland lists: erotic excitation which leads to reproduction; gustatory stimulations from sugars which lead to the detection of carbohydrates that are sources of energy; afferent stimulation from fruits and vegetables that have food value and that yield ethereal, aromatic and balgamic odours; the factual excitation that produces feelings of warmth, indicative of the proximity of heat energy needed in cold environments to restore the temperature equilibrium of the body.¹² As examples of nociception Troland lists: pain excitations from damage to the tissues; organic stimulations from such bodily conditions as hunger, excessive heat and cold, deprivation of air or water, and the

¹¹Leonard T. Troland, The Fundamentals of Human Motivation (New York: D. Van Nostrand and Company, Inc., 1928), p. 36.

¹²Ibid., p. 36.

need to urinate, defecate, etc. These types of stimulation indicated bodily conditions that are detrimental to the individual.¹³ Examples of neutroception are found "in many excitations from our surroundings - light, noises, odors, etc. - that are neither harmful nor beneficial in a direct biological sense".¹⁴ In general, Troland attempted to explain the inclinations an individual has to pursue certain activities while dismissing or avoiding others by examining the physical structures and processes of biological organisms. For him, all behavior was the result of immediate experience and physiological demands brought together by means of a mediating force he called "psychophysiological activities".¹⁵

Although Troland's work has merit, a fundamental difficulty seems to be his inability, along with other hedonistic theorists, to clearly specify the types of events which are pleasurable, that is, those which would activate the beneception process. Also left unanswered were questions as to how the individual's sensitivity to sources of pleasure and pain might be modified by experience. Murray had this to say, "Hedonism was rejected

¹³Ibid., p. 37.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 37.

¹⁵Leonard T. Troland, The Principles of Psychophysiology (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1929), pp. 114-145.

by psychologists because of the dependence upon the introspective knowledge of the person. What do we know of another person's inner sensations or pleasure?.... One man's meat is another man's poison. A man is said to seek pleasure; if he seeks something then it must be pleasureable. But what about the man who seeks failure, or as the Puritans, rejected pleasure-seeking as a way of life.... (Therefore) one can explain behavior only after the fact, and hedonism loses all predictive powers."¹⁶

In recent years psychologists such as David McClelland have suggested sophisticated versions of hedonistic theory.¹⁷ However, instead of relying on subjective reports of pleasure and pain as does Troland, McClelland uses subjective measures of approach and avoidance behavior. He attempts to predict, through the use of content analysis of imaginative stories, the relative degree of achievement motivation of individuals. The premise upon which McClelland's work is based is contained in the hypothesis he puts forward, "It is probable that the basic mechanism which gives rise to sensory pleasantness and unpleasantness is si-

¹⁶ Edward J. Murray, op. cit., p. 4.

¹⁷ David McClelland, The Achievement Motive (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1953).

milar to that which gives rise to pleasantness-unpleasantness at a more complex perceptual level."¹⁸ McClelland has developed an affective arousal model which suggests certain environmental stimuli innately arouse a state of pleasure or pain with a corresponding tendency to approach or avoid such stimuli."¹⁹ He proposes that persons who have had good feelings as a result of successfully completing tasks, for example, will score higher in their motivation to achieve than persons who have not experienced positive feelings as a result of task completion.

McClelland, however, says that although it may be important to determine the relative degree of achievement motivation of an individual, the critical issue of determining the conditions which produce negative and positive emotions have not been uncovered. This in fact, as in the case of Troland's formulation, limits the usefulness of this theory.²⁰

The Drive Concept

Much of the study of motivation seems to largely

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 43.

¹⁹ See Ibid., pp. 275-318.

²⁰ See Ibid., p. 333.

directed at filling in the unanswered areas of hedonistic theory. For example, a basic difficulty with this theory, beyond those already mentioned, is its inability to explain why an individual will stop pursuing a situation which is producing sensory satisfactions. This problem is partially responsible for the wide acceptance of drive theory introduced by Robert S. Woodworth in 1918.²¹ Although originally intended to refer to the general supply of energy in people, several psychologists began to talk of several "different" drives such as hunger, sex, thirst and so forth. These researchers, including Moss, Tolman and Dashiell, were proposing that behavior was dependent upon a person's drive state and that "drives are internal biological disturbances that drive or force the animal into activities that restore the natural balance or equilibrium of it's internal state", this condition is what Cannon was to later call homeostasis.^{22 23} Moss concluded from an empirical study of induced hunger in rats,

²¹ See, Robert Sessions Woodworth, Dynamic Psychology (New York: Columbia University Press, 1918) pp. 36-43.

²² J. F. Dashiell, "A Quantitative Demonstration of Animal Drive", Journal of Comparative Psychology, 5 (1925), pp. 205-208.

²³ "The coordination of processes which maintain most of the steady states in the organism are so complex and so peculiar to living things...that I have suggested a special designation for these states, homeostasis...It means a condition - a condition which may vary, but which is relatively constant." Walter B. Cannon, The Wisdom of the Body (New York: W. W. Norton and Company Inc., 1932), p. 24.

that "the behavior of any animal is the resultant of his drives to action and the opposing resistance" and when the object of the drive has been obtained, the drive is satisfied and therefore reduced.²⁴

The various complex actions of men did not seem adequately explained, however, on the basis of the satisfaction of simple biological demands and this prompted Tolman to extend the concept of drive to include learned drives. He wrote that, "....it can be said that all the things we humans do and want are ultimately to be evaluated with respect to the degree to which they tend to satisfy hunger, thirst, sex and the rest, or to prevent pain, frustration, and loneliness...however, it has also to be pointed out that in addition to these basic biological drives, there also appear in higher animals certainly relatively universal forms of social drive or social technique.... (this social technique) ... is instrumental to simple collectivity and simple collectivity is itself instrumental to the basic biological needs."²⁵

The concept of drive is based upon the premise

²⁴ Fred A. Moss, "Study of Animal Drives," Journal of Experimental Psychology, 7 (1924), pp. 165-185.

²⁵ Edward Chace Tolman, Drives Toward War (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1942), p. 22 and 48.

that organisms are motivated to satisfy needs which are in fact the object of their drive. In terms of the psychologist, drives are activated in an effort to reduce some stimulus which is impinging upon the organism. However, there is considerable evidence that organisms, under many conditions, do not seek to avoid stimulations but to attain it. Therefore, the ideal situation does not appear to be the absence of stimulation as drive theory would imply. Studies by Benton, Heron, and Scott of 22 male college students cut off from visual perception and having only limited tactual and auditory stimulation showed that humans find very low levels of stimulation highly unpleasant and disruptive.²⁶ Montgomery also concluded as the result of his experiments on rats that under some circumstances stimulation is rewarding and can strengthen responses.²⁷ A similar conclusion can be drawn from everyday observations. One only need watch the number of times a person will return to the various rides at a fair for an example of this.

²⁶William H. Benton, W. Heron and Theodore H. Scott, "Effects of Decreased Variation in the Sensory Environment," *Canadian Journal of Psychology* 8 (1954), pp. 70-76.

²⁷K. C. Montgomery, "The Role of the Exploratory Drive in Learning: Journal of Comparative and Physiological Psychology, 47 (1954), pp. 60-64.

Cognitive Theory of Behavior

The weakness of drive theory as mentioned above led to the formulation of the cognitive theory of behavior.

This theory, based upon the assumption that all behavior has a purpose and is goal-directed, encompasses two important elements believed to have a direct relationship to behavior, cognition, and affection. Cognition is defined as being "the act or process of knowing, including both awareness and judgement" and is a central process in the regulation and direction of behavior.²⁸ This process of "knowing" is believed to be the result of the neurological connections of the individual. These connective structures are developed as a result of affective processes and sensory perceptions and are maintained and altered as a result of learning and experience.²⁹ Young provides some support for this presumed relation between cognition and learning when he says, "Behind every act of perceiving is the indivi-

²⁸Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary (Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam Company, 1963). p. 161.

²⁹Hebb devotes considerable attention to this idea in his book and further discussions of it may be found by referring to: Donald Olding Hebb, A Textbook of Psychology (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1964), pp. 44-108.

dual's past history of experience. Previous history has built up a relatively stable cognitive organization within the individual which determines the meaning of a particular percept."³⁰

Young also suggests that behavior is largely dependent on perceptions which have occurred at a previous point in time and that a person's responses to stimuli are reflected by those past experiences. Combs and Snygg, on the other hand, suggest that behavior is not only a result of previous experience but also as a result of conditions existing at the time behavior is occurring. This view is well expressed when they say, "All behavior without exception, is completely determined by, and pertinent to the perceptual field of the behaving organism. The perceptual field has also been called....the phenomenal field. This term holds that reality lies not in the event but in the phenomenon, that is to say, in the individual's experience at the event....(therefore) behavior is a function not of the external event but of the individual's perception of it."³¹

³⁰ Paul Thomas Young, Emotion in Man and Animal (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1943), pp. 329-330.

³¹ A. W. Combs and D. Snygg, Individual Behavior: A Perceptual Approach to Behavior (New York: Harper and Brothers, Inc., 1959), p. 301.

Implicit in the idea of cognition is the concept of the affective process. This concept can best be explained as the feeling or emotion experienced by the individual in various situations and can range from strongly negative through neutral to strongly positive. Where sensory processes convey specific information to the brain center, affective processes determine the relative goodness of the stimulus. Young, in his book Motivation and Emotion, defines affective processes in terms of three attributes; sign, intensity, and duration.

Sign: In laboratory situations, one observes that naive animals develop approach-maintaining patterns of behavior. If they develop the approach-maintaining pattern, I would assume that the underlying affective process is positive in sign. If they develop the avoidance-terminating pattern, I would assume that the affective process is negative in sign. If neither positive nor negative behavior develops, I make no assumption concerning the sign of affective arousal.

Intensity: In addition to sign, affective processes differ in intensity and degree. Affective processes vary along a bipolar continuum between the extremes of maximal negative and maximal positive intensity.

Duration: In addition to sign and intensity, affective processes differ in duration and temporal course. Insofar as affective processes are induced by taste solutions for example, the duration of stimulation can be used to control the duration of affective arousal.³²

To this point, the discussion has been along rather generalized lines of motivational behavior and the theories so far considered have universal application to all organisms. Therefore, it may be significant to discuss how these theories have been used to provide a more specific conceptualization of human motivation. For this purpose, the contributions of Maslow, Parsons and Vroom will be considered below.

A. H. Maslow

Maslow's theory of human motivation is based upon several propositions, an understanding of which is essential to the theory he proposes.³³ Some of these propositions, specifically those dealing with the inability of drive and instinct theory to totally explain behavior,

³² Paul Thomas Young, Motivation and Emotion (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1961), pp. 151-152.

³³ A. H. Maslow, "A Theory of Human Motivation," Psychological Review, 50 (1943), pp. 370-396.

have been alluded to earlier in this paper while others are so trite as to need no discussion. There are two postulates, however, which not only have a good deal of significance for later chapters to this thesis, but also serve as a fine preface to the discussion of his hierarchy of needs theory and will therefore be considered below.

One of Maslow's first propositions states that the individual is an integrated, organized whole and that it is the entire person who is motivated, not just a part of him. That is to say, there is no such thing as a need of the stomach or a need of the mouth, there are only needs of the individual; it the whole person who wants food, not just the stomach. This proposition is significant because it is important to note that various needs can grip the individual in such a manner as to change much of the behavior normally expected of him. For example, among other behavioral manifestations, a man who is experiencing a great deal of hunger will have certain perceptual changes (he will perceive food more readily than at other times), he may become more tense and nervous, thus exhibiting an emotional change, and the content of his thoughts will change, that is, he is more apt to be thinking of food than the solving of a mathematical equation

for example.³⁴

Secondly, Maslow proposes that the desires for clothes, automobiles, companionship, praise, prestige, and the like, are far more common than desires to satisfy physiological needs, and it is in these desires, rather than those bound to somatic states, that the clue to the causes of motivation of the individual is to be found.

The rationale behind this proposition originates in the belief that desires are usually means to ends rather than the ends in themselves. For example, a person may desire money not so much for the money itself, but rather for the satisfaction received from purchased acquisitions. An illustration may make this clearer. A person desires money to purchase a car, not because he needs the transportation but because his neighbour has one, and the person does not wish to be inferior to his neighbour. He does not wish to be inferior because this would not only blemish his self-respect, but may also threaten his esteem in the eyes of others, resulting in his loss of their love and respect. Thus, when a conscious desire (in the example,

³⁴

See Carol M. Gordon and Donald P. Spence, "The Facilitating Effects of Food Set and Food Deprivation on Responses," Journal of Personality, 34 (1966), pp. 406-415. Irwin Silverman, "Effects of Hunger on Responses to Demand Characteristics in the Measurement of Persuasion", Psychonomic Science, 15 (1969), pp. 201-202.

the desire for money) is analyzed, it is possible to find the more fundamental aims of the individual than is initially thought. Accordingly, Maslow writes, "The particular desires that pass through our consciousness dozens of times a day, are not in themselves so important as what they stand for, where they lead, what they ultimately mean upon deeper analysis."³⁵ He says it is characteristic of this deeper analysis that it always leads ultimately to certain fundamental goals or needs behind which the analyst cannot go; that is, "to certain need satisfactions that seem to be ends in themselves and seem not to need any further justification or demonstration."³⁶ It is this type of analysis which has led Maslow to conclude that "the only sound and fundamental basis on which any classification of motivational life may be constructed is that of the fundamental goals or needs rather than motivational behavior.... (or the analysis of).... the specific goal object...." and it is on this assumption that he has developed the theory of needs.³⁷

Maslow introduces his theory by initially pointing

³⁵ A. H. Maslow, Motivation and Personality (New York: Harper and Row, 1954), p. 66.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 67.

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 71-72.

out that human needs are arranged in a hierarchy of prepotency. That is to say, the appearance of one usually rests on the prior satisfaction of another, "more pre-potent" need. He also points out that no need can be treated as if it were isolated or discrete and that although the most prepotent goal will monopolize the consciousness of the individual, it is not necessary for the most prepotent need to be fully satisfied before the emergence of the next need. Rather, he says "it is as if the average citizen is satisfied perhaps 85% in his biological needs, 70% in his safety needs, 50% in his love need, 40% in his self-esteem needs, and 10% in his self-actualization needs."³⁸ To this he adds that a satisfied need is no longer a motivator and therefore the greater the satisfaction, the less the need becomes a motivating force.

The need which Maslow uses as a starting point is the physiological needs. He does not, however, attempt to define these, stating rather that they include homeostatically balanced needs such as the desires for sleep, food, air, water, and the like, as well as various sensory pleasures such as taste and smell.

³⁸

A. Maslow, *A Theory of Human Motivation*, op. cit., p. 370.

If the psychological needs are relatively well gratified, the next need to emerge is the safety need. This need appears to be the desire to avoid harm. This involves the avoidance not only of physical harm such as illness but also threatening situations which may affect the individual's well being.

The relative satisfaction of the physiological needs will result in the emergence of the love, affection, and belongingness needs. As this need becomes important, the individual will begin to seek friendships and companionship of others. Much of the Hawthorne Studies were based upon the importance of this need as a motivator.³⁹

Most people in our society, according to Maslow, have a need for a stable, firmly based high evaluation of themselves, for self respect or self esteem, and for the esteem of others and it is this desire that he calls esteem needs. He claims that the self esteem need leads to feelings of self confidence, self worth, strength, capability and of being useful and necessary in the world. Thwarting of these needs produces feelings of inferiority,

³⁹F. J. Roethlisberger and William J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949).

weakness, helplessness and dependency.

The satisfying of these aforementioned needs may still result in discontent and restlessness, and is the result of the lack of fulfilling the need for self-actualization, or in terms of today's vernacular, the lack of "doing your own thing". It is the satisfaction of this need which Argyris stresses as being sought by every individual.⁴⁰

Maslow's theory of motivation provides a method for one to critically analyze and understand behavior and certainly facilitates the understanding of motivation. However, one weakness appears in this conceptualization, namely an explanation as to how an individual will choose between alternative courses of action. This is discussed in the review of the theories of Talcott Parsons and Victor Vroom which follows.

Talcott Parsons

Parsons discusses human motivation under the larger and more inclusive concept of action. For Parsons,

⁴⁰Chris Argyris, "The Individual and the Organization: Some Problems of Mutual Adjustment", Administrative Science Quarterly, 2 (1957), pp. 1-24.

behavior is oriented to the attainment of ends in situations and he notes four points in this conceptualization: (1) Behavior is oriented to the attainment of ends or goals or other anticipated states of affairs; (2) Behavior takes place in situations; (3) Behavior is normally regulated; and (4) Behavior involves the expenditure of energy. All behavior of an organism, says Parsons, is called action but to be so called it must be analyzed in terms of "the anticipated states of affairs toward which it is directed, the situation in which it occurs, the normative regulation of the behavior, and the expenditure of energy or 'motivation' involved. Behavior which is reduceable to these terms, then, is action."⁴¹

All action or behavior, observes Parsons, takes place in a situation which includes objects, both physical and human. These objects become cathected, (either wanted or not wanted) and develop various significances for the individual. It is through the taking on of these cathexes, then, that objects take on significance and become organized into the person's system of orientations.

Parsons reasons that a persons systems of orienta-

⁴¹Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils, Toward a General Theory of Action (New York: Harper and Row, 1951), p. 53.

tions is made up of a great number of specific orientations and he argues, each specific orientation provides a "conception (explicit or implicit, conscious or unconscious) which the person has of the situation in terms of what he wants, what he sees, and how he intends to get from the objects he sees to the objects he wants."⁴² This parallels the latter of the two Maslow propositions discussed earlier.

Parsons makes clear that actions or behaviors are not discrete, independent activities but occur in "constellations called systems".⁴³ These systems identified as social, personal, and cultural are what organizes and directs the energies of the individual and are responsible for establishing one's system of orientation.

The social systems are systems which are organized about the relationship of people to each other. This system is identified and defined as; "(1) a process of interaction between two or more people and this interaction becomes the focus of the individual's attention. (2) The situation toward which the persons are interacting are objects of cathexes."⁴⁴ (That is, the actions of

⁴² Ibid., p. 54.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 54.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 55.

other persons with which the individual is interacting are taken cognitively into account and arranged in a sort of positive negative continuum.)

A personal system has the following characteristics; "(1) It is a system of action or behaviors organized by a structure of need dispositions. (2) The actions of the individual have a determinate organization of compatability with one another. (Maslow would say the action reflects the relative prepotency of the need it is intended to satisfy.) (3) The norms or goals governing one action will be affected and limited by the norms or goals of other activities."⁴⁵

The cultural system is made up of values, norms, and symbols which guide and limit the choice and interactions of the people in the system. A cultural system can be thought of as a "pattern of culture whose different parts are interrelated to form value systems, belief systems, and systems of expressive symbols."⁴⁶

Although one's system of orientation is developed as the result of the influences of the social, personal, and cultural systems, this does not explain how one be-

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 55.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 55.

comes oriented to a situation. In other words, how does a person develop the positive-negative range of feelings he has about objects? Parsons sets about explaining this, first by stating that each specific orientation is the result of two independent elements he calls motivational orientation, and value orientation.

Motivational orientation refers to those aspects of the person's specific orientation which are related to actual or potential gratification or deprivation of the person's need dispositions. Motivational orientations consist of three modes; the first of these is the cognitive mode. This includes the various processes by which an individual sees an object in relation to his system of need dispositions and includes the determination of its "properties and actual potential functions, its differentiation from other objects and its relations to certain other general classes."⁴⁷

Next is the cathectic mode; this mode is involved in the various processes by which the individual gives affective significance to an object. Thus, it would include the positive or negative cathexes "implanted upon objects by their gratificational or deprivational signi-

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 59.

ficance with respect to the person's need-dispositions."⁴⁸

The third motivational mode identified by Parsons is called the evaluative mode. This mode involves the various processes by which a person allocates his energy among various cathected objects in an attempt to optimize his gratifications. Thus, included in this process would be the manner by which an individual organizes his cognitive and cathectic orientations into intelligent plans. Evaluation is necessary in order to resolve conflicts among interests and cognitive interpretations which necessitate choice.

Value orientations refer to those aspects of the person's orientation which cause him to observe or at least be aware of certain norms, standards, and criteria of selection whenever he is faced with making a choice. In other words, whenever a person is forced to choose among various goals or means of arriving at those goals, or whenever he must decide on how he will gratify a need disposition, his value orientation may commit him to certain norms that will guide his choice. This value orientation, like motivational orientation, is broken down into three modes. First is the cognitive mode of

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 59.

value orientation. This mode is involved in the various commitments to standards by which the validity of cognitive judgements are established. The appreciative mode is next and is involved in the various commitments to standards by which "the appropriateness or consistency of the cathexis of an object is assessed. These standards sometimes lay down a pattern for a particular kind of gratification; for example, standards of tastes in music."⁴⁹ The moral mode of value orientation involves "the various commitments to standards by which certain consequences of particular actions and types of actions may be assessed with respect to their effect upon the social, personal and cultural system. Specifically, they guide the actor's choices with a view to how the consequences of these choices will affect (a) the integration of his own personality system and (b) the integration of the social systems in which he is a participant."⁵⁰

Parsons distinguishes between the evaluative mode of motivational orientation and the value standards of value orientations. He says the evaluative mode "involves the cognitive act of balancing the gratification-depriva-

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 60.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 62.

tion significances of various alternative courses of action with a view of maximizing gratification in the long run."⁵¹ It would be the equivalent of one choosing between going to a movie or a hockey game. The value standards, he says, are various rules which may help the person make his choice by enabling the person to see the far reaching consequences of various alternatives; this standard would enable one to choose between robbing a bank and going to work to get money, for example.

Parson's theory has been included here because it provides one of the more comprehensive explanations of human motivation to be found in the literature.

Like Parsons, Vroom also provides an outstanding theory of human motivation and one would be remiss in proceeding without first giving at least cursory attention to his work.

Victor Vroom

The basis of Vroom's conceptualization of behavior is rooted in his definition of motivation. He says, "mo-

⁵¹
Ibid., p. 71.

tivation is a process governing choices, made by persons of lower organisms, along alternative forms of voluntary activity."⁵² The individual is depicted by Vroom as being faced with a set of alternative voluntary behaviors and the problem he tackles is the explanations of why a person will choose one alternative over another. Important to note here is the fact that Vroom is not concerned with behaviors resulting from somatically based needs, rather he looks to what Maslow would call the second order needs to explain motivated behavior," ...some behaviors, specifically those that are not under voluntary control, ...constitute a rather small proportion of the total behavior of adult human beings. It is reasonable to assume that most of the behavior exhibited by individuals on their jobs as well as their behavior in the "job market" is voluntary, and consequently, motivated."⁵³

Vroom begins by defining the term 'valence' to mean the positive, negative, or zero affective orientations a person has towards particular outcomes of events. Valence, defined in this way, can be considered the equivalent of Parsons's cathexis. The valence of an outcome to a person, and its value to that person are also dis-

⁵² Victor Vroom, Work and Motivation (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964), p. 6.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 9.

tinguished by Vroom. For example, an individual may want an object but will derive little satisfaction from its attainment, or he may want to avoid an object, which he later finds quite satisfying. Thus there may be, at any given time, a substantial discrepancy between the anticipated satisfaction from an outcome (its valence) and the actual satisfaction that the outcome provides (its value).⁵⁴

There are also outcomes which may be positively or negatively valent to the individual, but are not in themselves thought by the to be satisfying or dissatisfying. Instead, the strength of a person's desire or avoidance of them is based on the satisfactions or dissatisfactions associated with other outcomes to which they are expected to lead. For example, a man may seek a promotion, not because it pays more money, but because it gives him a title or other status symbol. In essence, Vroom is simply restating Maslow's proposition that means acquire a valence as a consequence of their expected relationship to ends. Thus, the manner in which an outcome acquires a valence is stated by the proposition; "The valence of an outcome to a person is a monotonically increasing function of the algebraic sum of the products of the valences of all other outcomes and his conceptions of its instrument-

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 15

ality for the attainment of these other outcomes."⁵⁵

This proposition is more easily understood through the use of a simple example. The valence, or in other words, the amount of positive or negative feeling a person will have for an outcome will be dependent upon various other feelings he has about other things which would be affected by any action he took. Also, his feelings will be influenced by the instrumentality of any actions he may take for attaining other outcomes. For example, a worker's desire to join a union, may among other things be dependent upon how he feels about paying the weekly dues (presumably a negative feeling), plus his feeling about the increased fellowship he will experience by becoming a member (presumably a positive feeling or valence) as well as his conception of how this action may lead to his being able to remove some of the decisions regarding his future well being from the indiscriminate acts of a supervisor and placing it in the hands of people whose activities he can partially control.

Vroom also points out that specific outcomes depend not only on the choices a person makes, but also upon events which are beyond his control. For example, the decision to join the union in the above example does not

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 17.

guarantee that he will not be subjected to arbitrary decisions by his supervisor. Thus Vroom makes the point that most choices between alternatives involve uncertain outcomes, and it seems clear that the individual's behavior is governed not only by his preference among outcomes, but also by the degree to which he believes these outcomes to be probable. These beliefs Vroom calls expectancies and defines them as "a momentary belief concerning the likelihood that a particular act will be followed by a particular outcome."⁵⁶ Expectancies, he says, can therefore range from zero (indicating there is no chance that an outcome will follow from a particular act) to one (indicating that the act will be followed by the outcome).

By combining the valences and expectancies, Vroom then develops his concept of force which he says can be used to determine the individual's choices of action. He says; "the force on a person to perform an act is a monotonically increasing function of the algebraic sum of the products of the valences of all outcomes and the strength of his expectancies that the act will be followed by the attainment of these outcomes."⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 17.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 18.

Summary

This chapter has been an attempt to trace a path of various psychological theories which have culminated in the present conceptualization of human motivation.

The discussion initially focused upon instinct theory, pointing up it's weakness, mainly as a result of the circular arguments it posed. Nevertheless, this theory did contribute to the present body of knowledge by spelling out the importance of certain endowments of man which are at the base of all human behavior.

Also examined was the contribution of hedonistic theory and the articulation of the pleasure-pain syndrome. Implicit in this discussion also, has been the importance of the physiological structure and more particularly, the afferent and efferent nerve endings which are so vital to the sensory responses to stimulation.

The discussion of drive theory was intended to provide a partial explanation of the active-inactive organism issue not adequately explained by earlier hedonistic theory. This theory also had important implications for the development of the stimulus-organism-response concept which gave rise to more sophisticated approach-avoidance, learning, perception, and personality theories although not discussed here.

The direction of the chapter was designed to include an examination of what is called here, cognitive theory, with the discussion intended to illustrate how each of the previous theories have contributed to contemporary motivation theory and pointing out that behavior is an interaction of, for want of a better word, various systems. That is, the impact of the physiological, psychological and social systems on the persons behavior.

This led to the review of the three motivation theories of Maslow, Parsons, and Vroom. Selection of these researchers was partially a result of the frequency with which their theories have been alluded to, as well as the fact they present a comprehensive picture of human motivation, particularly when considered together.

Maslow was also chosen because not only does his theory subtly embrace the drive concept, but also because it provides a way of thinking about individual needs that is used as a partial base for the theoretical dissertation of the other two. Parsons and Vroom were chosen for the completeness of their theory in providing an explanation of human motivation.

As mentioned at the outset, this chapter was meant to provide the reader with a conceptualization of human motivation which will serve to clarify and improve the un-

derstanding of the discussion of job satisfaction which is to follow.

CHAPTER III

WORK VARIABLES AND THEIR IMPORTANCE IN THE DETERMINATION OF SATISFACTION

Introduction

Terms such as job satisfaction, job attitudes and job morale typically have been used interchangeably throughout the literature. All three refer to the cognitive orientations of individuals toward the working roles they are occupying and the psychological implications of these orientations have been discussed in the previous chapter. However, briefly to recap what was said earlier, positive attitudes toward the job are equivalent to job satisfaction; negative attitudes toward the job are the equivalent of job dissatisfaction and to describe a person as satisfied with his work would be tantamount to saying he is receiving adequate satisfaction of his prepotent needs, to use Maslow's theory, that he has a positive cathexis for his job if Parsons is to be referred to; or that the worker's satisfaction with his job manifests a positive valence for him using Vroom's terminology.

Job satisfaction discussed in this manner would suggest that it is a single variable. However, in point of

fact, several authors distinguished between a general level of job satisfaction and several specific satisfactions believed to be component parts of the general level.¹ Smith, Kendal and Hulin, for example, take this stand when they summarily define job satisfaction as being, "persistent feelings toward discriminable aspects of the job situation. These feelings are thought to be associated with perceived differences between what is expected and what is experienced in relation to the alternatives available in a given situation."² Later they add, "job satisfaction is an affective response to distinguishable aspects of the job, evaluated in relation to appropriate frames of reference."³

Indeed, most people who have worked for wages will agree that they have experienced different feelings corresponding to differentiable aspects of the job. For example, workers will report they are very satisfied with their sup-

¹Vroom discussing this point states that, "the valence of particular sets of properties of the work role (i.e. task content, promotional possibilities, etc.) might be of value in predicting how individuals would respond to changes in work roles as well as the degree to which they might seek to initiate changes of their own." Victor Vroom, Work and Motivation (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964), p. 101.

²Patricia Cain Smith, Lorne M. Kendall, and Charles L. Hulin, The Measurement of Satisfaction in Work and Retirement (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1969), p. 37.

³Ibid., p. 87.

ervisors, indifferent to the work they perform, and very dissatisfied with their wages. In the parlance of Vroom, these various factors would take on individual valences for the workers, the sum of which would determine the level of job satisfaction he experiences.

It is therefore the intention of this chapter to examine some of the effects of selected work environment variables upon the rank and file workman with specific focus given to the impact of job content, supervision, work groups, and wages upon employee satisfactions.

Job Content

One of the major components of the general level of job satisfaction is the degree of satisfaction the individual experiences in the performance of his work. However, with the emphasis many firms place on the use of automated equipment and the specialization of duties, the content of many rank and file jobs have been reduced to routine, repetitive operations. The rationale behind the trend to increased automation is based on the belief that improved economies of scale can be achieved by removing some of the skill requirements from the workman and relocating it in the machine. Also, the opinion exists that the concentrated effort of the worker on a limited number of job activities increases the quantity and quality of

his output and that functional specialization is therefore a means to progressive organizational and administrative efficiency.⁴ It has been argued however, that the application of the specialization principle has gone too far, and that the increased repetitiveness of jobs has resulted in considerable dissatisfaction with work content among rank and file employees.⁵

Vroom, for example, in two studies, one involving ninety-four supervisory and non supervisory employees in a medium size electronics plant and another involving 489 blue collar workers in a large Canadian Oil Refinery, found that the inability of workers to participate in ego involving jobs (i.e. jobs which provide for the opportunity for workers to exercise individual judgement and initiative, collectively called self-expression) had job satisfaction scores significantly below those workers who did have ego-involving occupations.⁶ This conclusion is

⁴See, "Mass Production," The Encyclopedia Britannica, 14th edition, Volume 15, pp. 38-41.

⁵Argyris reasons that all men seek the ultimate satisfaction in the workplace by the specialized tasks they are required to perform. See, Chris Argyris, "The Individual and Organization: Some Problems of Mutual Adjustment." Administrative Science Quarterly, 2 (1957), pp. 1-24.

⁶Victor Vroom, "Ego Involvement, Job Satisfaction and Job Performance" Personnel Psychology, 15 (1962), pp. 159-177.

further supported by Kirchner who tested the attitudes of ninety-two employees of a mid western U.S.A. firm.⁷ His study found that the strongest negative attitudes were manifest by the workers when they felt they were not fully utilizing their training and capabilities. Results showed that "there was a strong relationship between the employee's rating of his job performance and his attitude to the job. Persons who rated themselves high in terms of motivation and drive, human relations, and overall performance, also had favorable attitudes to the utilization of their training and capabilities."⁸

In a seven month study of one hundred and twenty four high and low skilled manufacturing employees, Argyris found that employees performing job functions requiring a high degree of skill and knowledge tended to express less indifference, apathy, dependence, and submission than low skilled employees.⁹ Specifically, he found that employees performing jobs requiring highly skilled techniques; (a) expressed a high sense of worth and self regard related to

⁷Wayne K. Kirchner, "Job Attitudes and Performance." Personnel Administration 30 (1967), pp. 42-45.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Chris Argyris, "Individual Actualization in Complex Organizations." In, Organizations and Human Behavior, ed. Gerald Bell, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1967), pp. 208-217.

their technological capabilities, (b) expressed a need to be active, (c) a need to work with others, (d) a need for a variety and challenge in their work, (e) a desire to have some close friends in their work, (f) expressed no need to over-emphasize the importance of material rewards, (g) expressed a need to produce quality work, (h) expressed a need to learn more about other kinds of work within the same job family, and (i) activities outside the work place tend to be creative. On the other hand, low skilled employees expressed (a) a low sense of self-worth, (b) a need to be passive, (c) a need to be alone, (d) a need to have non-challenging work, (e) expressed no desire to make close friends at work, (f) a need to only produce adequate work to make a fair day's pay, (g) an over-emphasis on material rewards, (h) no need to learn other kinds of work, and (i) activities outside the workplace tended to be non-creative.

Finally, a recent study by Alderfer, also confirmed the general proposition that task specialization significantly contributes to worker dissatisfactions. In a three month study involving 302 employees, tabulated questionnaire scores showed that incumbents in enlarged machine operating jobs had greater satisfactions with their level of pay (although they had not received rate increases) with the use of their **skills** and abilities than did the standard

operators.¹⁰

Specialized routine jobs also create a feeling of uncertainty and a lack of self confidence workers.¹¹ This fact was evidenced as a result of work carried on by Centers and Bugental. Their findings showed that persons in positions requiring little training or skill, irrespective of whether they were white collar or blue collar workers, desired security in their jobs beyond all other factors.¹²

The specialization of duties also results in great-

¹⁰ Clayton P. Alderfer, "An Organizational Syndrome." Administrative Science Quarterly, 12 (1967), pp. 440-460.

¹¹ Perlman, on the basis of empirical observation, identified this relationship between functional specialization and insecurity in his theorization of the labor movement. He said "there exists in every economic community a separation between those who prefer a secure, though modest return for their efforts and those who play for big stakes and are willing to assume risk in proportion." The first he identified as the manual worker; the craftsmen, laborers and shopkeepers; the latter, the entrepreneur and big business men. "the manual worker is convinced, by experience, that he is living in a world of limited opportunity," wrote Perlman. "He knows he is neither a born taker of risks nor the possessor of a sufficiently agile mind ever to feel at home in the midst of competitive big business. This pessimism is at the bottom of his ability to bargain when acting alone is inferior, then acting as a group may afford him protection against aggressive activities of the employer." See Selig Perlman, A Theory of the Labor Movement (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1966), pp. 238-241.

¹² Richard Centers and Daphne E. Bugental, "Intrinsic Job Motivation Among Different Segments of the Working Population." Journal of Applied Psychology, 50 (1966), pp. 193-197.

er distances between senior level employees and rank and file workers, inevitably causing interruptions in communication channels and providing a source of worker grievance. In a comprehensive examination of 270 U. S. hospitals, Rosengren found that a contributing source of worker dissatisfaction resulted not only from an inability of the worker to discuss issues with appropriate senior level staff, but also the lack of effective communication vertically downward of important items from these upper echelons.¹³ This, Rosengren reports, was a result of an extreme division of worker duties.

Pugh and Hickson point out that task specialization is highly correlated to organizational growth, and as the degree of specialization becomes more acute, the worker begins to have difficulty fitting his phase of operation into the total overall organizational scheme "leading to a reduction in his need to invest himself into his job" and ultimately lowering the workers job attitude.¹⁴ An intensive case study supporting this observation is found in Trist and Bamforth's account of the conversion to the

¹³ William R. Rosengren, "Structure, Policy and Style: Strategies of Organizational Control." Administrative Science Quarterly, 12 (1968), pp. 140-164.

¹⁴ D. S. Pugh and D. J. Hickson, "The Comparative Study of Organizations." In, Industrial Society: Social Sciences in Management, ed. Dennis Pym (London: Penguin Books, 1968), pp. 451-454.

"longwall" method of coal mining in England.¹⁵

Coal had traditionally been mined by two man crews who performed all the mining operations (i. e. loosening the coal, collecting it and loading it). Subsequent to World War II, greater specialization was introduced, with large work groups of up to 20 men assigned to perform a single operation with the expectancy that greater productivity was to result from the change; in point of fact production fell off. The researchers also noted a marked drop in job satisfaction, an increase in absenteeism, and a growing reluctance of the men to work underground. The complex nature of this change in operation made it impossible to attribute these effects solely to a change in the number of operations performed, however, the researchers believed that the increased specialization was a significant factor in accounting for the reduced morale.

There has been considerable concern over the relationship of highly repetitive, short time span tasks and worker education as well.¹⁶ Indeed, it seems that today's

¹⁵ E. L. Trist and K. W. Bamforth, "Some Social and Psychological Consequences of the Longwall Method of Coal Getting." Human Relations 4 (1951), pp. 3-38.

¹⁶ Philip Kriedt and Marguerite S. Gadel. "Prediction of Turnover Among Clerical Workers," Journal of Applied Psychology, 37 (1953), pp. 338-340.

emphasis on increased education may be in diametric opposition to the needs of the industrialized work complex. Kriedt and Gadel related the level of education to routine clerical work and the incident of turnover. In their study, 358 girls were tested upon joining a large insurance firm's office staff. All of the girls were employed in highly routine tasks such as filing and envelope addressing. Results indicated that those girls who left the company within twelve months scored higher in the general knowledge section of the tests, which included questions relating to politics, geography and word meanings, than those who stayed.

Obviously, the highly specialized nature of many industrial tasks are a major contributor to work dissatisfactions and the concern it has created among researchers is reflected by many advocating some form of job enlargement or job enrichment.¹⁷ Indeed, the continued striving to reduce

¹⁷ Job enlargement has been defined by Guest as "the practice of restoring to jobs some of the skill, responsibility, and variety that have been lost through work simplification." Robert H. Guest, "Job Enlargement - A Revolution in Job Design." Personnel Administration, 20 (1957), pp. 9-16. Shepard, using the results of a study of three different groups of industrial employees was adamant in his conclusion that, "a worker's job satisfaction increases with job size....and....job specialization does not seem to be received negatively by only certain segments of the labor force - it appears to be a more general phenomena..." Jon M. Shepard, "Functional Specialization, Alienation and Job Satisfaction." Industrial and Labour Relations Review, 23 (1970), pp. 207-219. Also see; William J. Paul, Jr., Keith B. Robertson, and Frederick Herzberg, "Job Enrichment Pays Off!" Harvard Business Review, 47 (March-April, 1969), pp. 61-78. Frederick Herzberg, "One More Time: How Do You Motivate Employees?" Harvard Business Review, 46 (January-February, 1968), pp. 53-62.

the number of functions performed by each employee is not only a regressive step in the search for techniques to improve worker morale, but it may also contribute to increased costs of production. Conant and Kilbridge, for example, report in their study of a manufacturer of home laundry equipment, that the decision to remove "assembly work from progressive assembly lines and to restore the work to single station benches" resulted not only in improved assembly quality but also "substantial assembly cost savings."¹⁸ Aside from the reduced production costs, and more relevant to the topic being dealt with here, is the approval expressed by all workers for the enlarged job attributes. Among the most frequent responses were; positive reactions to the opportunity to move away from the work station not possible in assembly line work; individual responsibility for quality; an opportunity to make a complete sub assembly; the ability to set the work pace; and a greater variety of work. Also reported were some disliked aspects of line assembly, included in these were; the monotony of line jobs, line pacing, and the inability to contribute workmanship and obtain credit for it.

¹⁸ Eaton H. Conant and Maurice D. Kilbridge, "An Interdisciplinary Analysis of Job Enlargement: Technology, Costs and Behavioral Implications." Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 18 (1964-65), pp. 377-395.

In this section, an attempt has been made to shed some light on the dysfunctional consequences of job specialization which can result from an over emphasis on work division. The pressing problem which seems to be unanswerable at this time, however, is the determination of the level of specialization below which further specialization will lead to worker dissatisfactions. A simple solution to this problem does not seem possible at the moment, especially when other influences such as supervision are acting upon the situation.

Supervision

The importance of supervision on worker satisfaction has been argued from time to time by various researchers. Putnam, for example, in discussing the results of interviews conducted among sixteen hundred members of the Hawthorne plant of Western Electric, concluded that the single most important determinant of worker attitudes is supervision.¹⁹ Putnam wrote, "Finally, the comments from employees have convinced us that the relationship between first line supervisors and the individual workman is more important in deter-

¹⁹M. L. Putnam, "Improving Employee Relations." Personnel Journal, 8 (1929-30), pp. 314-325.

mining the attitude, morale, general happiness, and efficiency, than any single factor."²⁰ On the other hand, other researchers, notably Jurgensen and Chant, have not placed the same emphasis on the impact of supervision upon workman satisfaction. Jurgensen questioned well over twelve hundred applicants to list the relative importance of ten factors upon satisfaction; supervision was rated seventh.²¹ Security, advancement, type of work, company pride, pay and co-workers were all rated above supervision in terms of satisfaction. Chant, in an earlier study of two hundred and fifty men between the ages of 17 and 21 years, found that supervision was ranked sixth "behind opportunity for advancement, steady work, opportunity to use your own ideas, opportunity to learn a job and opportunity to be of public service."²²

Both Baehr and Ash however, found that there were certain elements of the job which had a greater bearing upon a general level of satisfaction than others. Their

²⁰Ibid., p. 325.

²¹Clifford E. Jurgensen, "Selected Factors Which Influence Job Preferences." Journal of Applied Psychology, 31 (1947), pp. 553-564.

²²S. N. F. Chant, "Measuring the Factors that Make a Job Interesting." Personnel Journal, 11 (1932-33), pp. 1-4.

studies established that; economic rewards, adequacy of immediate supervision; effectiveness of the organization as a system; satisfaction with the job itself; and work group compatibility were the major contributors to a general level of satisfaction. None of these factors, however, had a greater weight than any other in contributing to satisfaction.²³

Regardless of the position one wishes to take concerning the importance of supervision on job satisfaction, there is ample evidence that it does have some effect on the workman's attitudes.

It should be mentioned that supervision, as used here, is more than the legitimate exercise of power as granted by the organization. Rather, it is what Student has defined as incremental influence; that is, the ability of one man to influence another, not because of any authority granted as a result of role

²³ Melany E. Baehr, "A Factorial Study of the S.R.A. Employee Inventory." Personnel Psychology, 7 (1954), pp. 319-336. Philip Ash, "The S.R.A. Employee Inventory - A Statistical Analysis." Personnel Psychology, 7 (1954), pp. 337-364.

incumbency, but on the basis of his personal attributes.²⁴

Bowers and Seashore set down "four dimensions" which may serve as a cornerstone for the elaboration of "supervisory incremental influence" on workman satisfaction.

These they identify as: (1) Support: Behavior that enhances someone else's feelings of personal worth and importance. (2) Interaction Facilitation: Behavior that encourages members of the group to develop close, mutually satisfying relationships. (3) Goal emphasis: Behavior that stimulates an enthusiasm for meeting the group's goal or achieving excellent performance. (4)

Work Facilitation: Behavior that helps achieve goal attainment by such activities as scheduling, coordinating, planning, and providing resources such as tools, materi-

²⁴Student adopted a five fold typology of social power suggested by French and Raven for the analyses of supervisory influence. The first three, reward, coercive, and legitimate power he says are largely specified by the organization. On the other hand, referent power (the ability to have people identify and follow a leader because of his personality characteristics) and expert power, are "to a substantial degree uniquely determined by a supervisor's behavior and interactions with subordinates.... the extent and range of a supervisor's referent power and expert power cannot be specified by the organization. Expert power and referent power are idiosyncratic in nature and this influence which is beyond the formalized influence granted all supervisors, is what is called incremental influence." Kurt R. Student, "Supervisory Influence and Work Group Performance." Journal of Applied Psychology, 52 (1968), pp. 188-194.

als, and technical knowledge.²⁵

For the sake of analysis, each one of these dimensions may be considered independently and in terms of the various empirical studies from which they were deduced, in order to illustrate why and how supervisory behavior can bear significantly upon job satisfaction.

Support: The whole idea of supervisory concern for the workman's psychological well being has grown from the belief, as the previous section has shown, that because lower level participants in organizations have fewer opportunities to experience personal satisfactions and rewards resulting from meaningful work activities, their level of motivation and involvement tends to be low. As a consequence, it is believed that some form of subordinate oriented style of supervision will be advantageous. In other words, supervisors must demonstrate an interest in the whole person rather than only that segment of his behavior that is relevant to his work. It is felt this subordinate oriented leadership increases positive relationships between worker and supervisor, reduces tension, and aids in creating a certain warmth and rapport between the worker and his sup-

²⁵ David G. Bowers and Stanley E. Seashore, "Predicting Organizational Effectiveness With a Four Factor Theory of Leadership." Administrative Science Quarterly, 11 (1966), pp. 238-263.

ervisor. In a study of production foremen and their work groups, Fleishman and Harris found that the degree of consideration shown by a supervisor was inversely related to the number of official employee grievances.²⁶ Wager also recognized the importance of subordinate oriented supervision on satisfaction when he sought the responses of 1,063 non-supervisory employees. Data showed that those supervisors who manifested concern and consideration toward the worker, as measured by a six item questionnaire, also had subordinates who scored high on a job satisfaction inventory.²⁷ Similar results were found in two comprehensive studies by Comrey, Pfiffner, and Beem. These researchers found that workers satisfied with their supervision rated their supervisors as being more democratic, sympathetic, and helpful than were ratings of workers with lower levels of satisfaction.²⁸

²⁶ Edwin A. Fleishman and Edwin F. Harris, "Patterns of Leadership Behavior to Employee Grievances and Turnover." Personnel Psychology, 15 (1962), pp. 43-55.

²⁷ L. Wesley Wager, "Leadership Style, Hierarchical Influence and Supervisory Role Obligations." Administrative Science Quarterly, 9 (1964), pp. 390-420.

²⁸ Andrew L. Comrey, John M. Pfiffner, and Helen P. Beem, "Factors Influencing Organizational Effectiveness. II. The Department of Employment Survey. Personnel Psychology, 6 (1953), pp. 65-79. Also see A. L. Comrey, J. M. Pfiffner, and H. P. Beem, Factors Influencing Organizational Effectiveness. I. The U.S. Forest Survey. Personnel Psychology, 5 (1952), pp. 307-328.

Undoubtedly, supervisors who take a personal interest in the well being of the rank and file workman, taking time to consider his rights and feelings, will contribute significantly to worker satisfactions. However, when first line supervisors are not considerate of their employees, the satisfaction index of workers plunges. This fact was illustrated by Day and Hamblin in a laboratory setting using university undergraduates. Their study designed to test the effect of punitive leadership on subordinates, showed that as the conscious use of "ego-lacerating, angry, reprimands to gain compliance" increased, levels of worker dissatisfaction also increased.²⁹

Interaction Facilitation: A marked relationship exists between worker morale and the degree of "esprit de corps" that exists in the work group.³⁰ Awareness of this by supervisors can have an important impact on the promotion of individual morale; to ignore it may be to invite dissatisfactions, bickering and grievances. Although a more indepth discussion will be made in the section on groups which follows, the point to be noted here is the im-

²⁹ Robert C. Day and Robert L. Hamblin, "Some Effects of Close and Punitive Styles of Supervision." Organizations and Human Behavior, ed. Gerald D. Bell, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1967), pp. 172-182.

³⁰ Pepitone and Reichling demonstrated the relationship between group cohesiveness and morale experimentally using 13 groups of high school students. See Albert Pepitone and George Reichling, "Group Cohesiveness and the Expression of Hostility." Human Relations, 8 (1955), pp. 327-337.

portance of thoughtful structuring and locating of various groups and group members in the work setting by the person in charge.³¹ Indeed, the providing of conditions conducive to amiable worker interactions and communications are activities which will facilitate improved morale and are largely the responsibility of first line supervisors. A governing principle in the development of work groups is well expressed in a quote attributed to Durkheim. He said, "we like those who resemble us, those who think and feel as we do. But the opposite is no less true. It is very often that we feel kindly toward those who do not resemble us.... Differences as well as likenesses can be a cause of mutual attraction. However, we do not find any pleasure in those completely different from us. Spendthrifts do not need the company of misers, nor moral and honest people that of hypocrites and pretenders; sweet and gentle spirits have no taste for sour and malevolent temperaments."³²

The study of 72 staff members of a child welfare agency in a midwestern state by Jackson supports the view

³¹Leavitt demonstrated the effectiveness of various group structures of communication and the ultimate impact this would have on morale. Harold J. Leavitt, "Some Effects of Certain Communication Patterns on Group Performance." Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 46 (1951), pp. 38-50.

³²See, Charles Gordon, "The Division of Labor - Emile Durkheim." In, Organizations and Human Behavior. ed. Gerald D. Bell, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc., 1967), p. 33.

of Durkheim. Results showed that persons who demonstrated a high degree of mutual attraction for one another also experienced a greater degree of satisfaction in their interactions than those who are not highly attracted to one another.³³ Here then, is another example of the contributions supervisory activities make in the creating of improved satisfactions.

Goal Emphasis: A major contributor to worker morale is the availability of supervisors for consultation on work situations affecting the individual. Allport, and others, point out that the amount of involvement permitted subordinates in decisions affecting their future activities, both individually and collectively in a group, is an area critical to the establishment of worker morale.³⁴ In a comprehensive study of the effects of participation on subordinate performances, attitudes toward supervisors, attitudes toward the appraisal system, and the degree of self actualization experienced on the job. French, Kay and Meyer reported that to the extent that a subordinate has

³³ Jay M. Jackson, "Reference Group Processes in a Formal Organization." Sociometry, 22 (1959), pp. 307-327.

³⁴ Gordon W. Allport, "The Psychology of Participation." Psychological Review, 52 (1945), pp. 117-132. Also see Ross Stagner, D. R. Flebbe, and E. V. Wood, "Working on the Railroad: A Study of Job Satisfaction." Personnel Psychology 5 (1952), pp. 293-306.

a high need for independence, the more the participation of the subordinate in planning the goals for improved performance and the paths for reaching these goals; "(a) the greater will be his subsequent goal achievement, (b) the more favourable will be his attitude towards the appraisal system, (c) the more favourable will be the relationship with his manager, and (d) the greater will be his occupational self actualization."³⁵

Often in incentive and bonus situations, quotas are set by foremen without due consideration for various differences in a multitude of factors which may affect the meeting of these goals. Both Ridgeway and Argyris in two elucidating discussions, question the value of performance measurements solely designed by management; both argued that quotas set in this fashion without consultation with workers involved will lead to undesirable consequences for the overall satisfaction of the employee.³⁶

³⁵John R. P. French, Jr., Emanuel Kay, and Herbert H. Meyer, "Participation and the Appraisal System." Human Relations, 19 (1966), pp. 3-20. Also see Herbert H. Meyer, Emanuel Kay and John R. P. French, Jr., "Split Roles in Performance Appraisals." Harvard Business Review, 43 (January-February, 1965), 123-129.

³⁶V. F. Ridgeway, "Dysfunctional Consequences of Performance Measurements." Administration Science Quarterly, 1 (1956), pp. 240-247. Chris Argyris, "Human Problems with Budgets." Harvard Business Review, 31 (Human Problems with Budgets." Harvard Business Review, 31 (January-February, 1953), pp. 97-110.

The significance of this discussion is to illustrate that the joint setting of worker objectives will contribute much to alleviating dissatisfaction in the work place and it is incumbent upon the supervisor to recognize this fact if a pleasant, smooth running department is to be achieved.

Work Facilitation: All supervisory responsibilities require that attention be given to both the demands of the total organization as well as to the needs of the immediate work group. How competently worker demands are fulfilled by the foreman will have an impact on worker satisfaction. The emphasis here is on the ability of supervisors to "pull the right strings" in order to satisfy certain worker needs.

Pelz reports that worker satisfaction can be greatly effected depending upon the amount of influence exercised by the supervisor on his own superior.³⁷ Forty work-groups in a public utility in which employees were rated as having high satisfaction and thirty groups in which employees were rated low in satisfaction were selected for this study. Determination of high and low satisfied groups was accomplished through an examination of responses to a questionnaire administered to the employees. Supervisory

³⁷ D. C. Pelz, "Leadership Within a Hierarchical Organization." Journal of Social Issues, 7 (1951), pp. 49-55.

practices of those in charge of these groups were determined by means of personal interviews with the supervisors. Two scales of supervisory behavior were developed, one dealing with the degree to which the individual supervisor "sided with employees" in cases of employee-management conflict, the other dealt with the "social closeness" of supervisors to subordinates. Correlations were computed separately between these two aspects of supervisory behavior and the various measures of employee attitudes toward supervisors for the groups. Results showed that employee attitudes were more positive when supervisors had a high level of influence with their own superiors. This led Pelz to conclude that attempts by influential supervisors to help their employees reach certain goals, usually succeed because of the influence they had and will result in higher employee satisfactions. Similar attempts by other less influential supervisors are less likely to succeed and therefore will have an adverse effect on satisfaction.

Patchen also examined some of the specific conditions which produce confidence or workers in their supervisors.³⁸ His project was carried out in a plastics plant, employing 700 men and women. The stated purpose of the

³⁸ Martin Patchen, "Supervisory Methods and Group Performance Norms." Administrative Science Quarterly, 7 (1962), pp. 275-294.

study was to determine the cause of differences in group performance norms. An important factor in the development of these norms was the behavior of the foreman toward workers. One aspect of a foreman's behavior, what Patchen termed "going to bat" for employees, showed a significant relationship between the amount of worker support exhibited by supervisors in worker-management differences and the degree of satisfaction with their supervision displayed by workmen.

Few studies could be found which reflected on the impact of scheduling, coordinating, or planning abilities of supervisors on their worker satisfactions. This suggests that this is one area where more research needs to be done. Nevertheless, the work of Pelz and Patchen does serve to illustrate that subordinate satisfactions will be affected by the abilities of supervisors to attain certain factors (wage increases, better working conditions and the like) which will enhance the opportunity of rank and file workers to satisfy their various needs.

To sum up the discussion of this section, there is fairly clear cut evidence that in a hierarchial organization, supervision can indeed influence the satisfactions of workers. It must also be recognized that this discussion is somewhat incomplete, in as much as several super-

visory activities which may bear on satisfaction have not been discussed. For example, the whole question of the impact of close and general styles of supervision on worker satisfaction has been ignored. The literature, bearing upon this question seems to present conflicting findings. For example, Day and Hamblin reported that "close supervision provided a significant and large increment in aggressive feelings towards supervisors."³⁹ Patchen, on the other hand, alludes to the thought that close supervision may serve as a method of providing encouragement and support to the worker and therefore is a method of enhancing satisfactions.⁴⁰ On the other hand, Fiedler has recognized this dilemma, and as a result of a series of studies has proposed that when tasks are only semi-structured and not well defined a general, consultative type of supervision is most appropriate to worker satisfaction. However, when group tasks are totally unstructured and undefined close supervision will contribute significantly to worker satisfaction.⁴¹

³⁹ Robert C. Day and Robert L. Hamblin, op. cit.

⁴⁰ Marten Patchen, op. cit.

⁴¹ Fiedler also proposes that when tasks are well defined and highly structured close supervision will enhance productivity. See, Fred E. Fiedler "A Contingency Model of Leadership Effectiveness." In, Advances In Experimental Social Psychology, ed., Leonard Berkowitz (New York: Academic Press, 1964), pp. 149-190. Also see Fred E. Fiedler, "The Effect of Leadership and Cultural Heterogeneity on Group Performance: A Test of the Contingency Model." Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 2 (1966), pp. 237-264.

Groups

It is difficult to argue with the view that a major source of satisfaction or dissatisfaction for the worker results from his interaction with other members of his work group. The problem however, is the identification of individual-group interactions which will have an affective consequence on the workman.⁴² Thus, the discussion developed below is aimed at the further understanding of attractions group membership has for the individual.

Although there is not a great deal of work done on this problem in the industrial situation, there are a fair number of investigations performed in the wider societal setting which are related to conditions existing in the work place and which can be used to illustrate the group impact on worker satisfaction.

Explanations of the determinants of attractiveness of a group for an individual invariably stress the positive-

⁴²Strauss and Sayles conclude that among the reasons employees join work groups are: a need for companionship; a need for identification (that is, people want more than to just have friends they want to "belong"); to provide guidelines to acceptable behavior; for an opportunity to exhibit initiative and creativity; to receive help in solving problems; for protection from outside pressures. See, Leonard R. Sayles and George Strauss, Human Behavior in Organizations (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.), pp. 86-109.

negative continuum the worker seems to develop towards outcomes resulting from his group associations. Simon, Smithberg and Thompson, for example, adopt this general view in their theory of organizational survival when they state, "Each participant will continue his participation in an organization only so long as the inducements offered him are as great or greater (measured in terms of his values and in terms of the alternatives open to him) than the contribution he is asked to make."⁴³

Bass, focusing more specifically on individuals and work groups, says, "a group is more attractive, the greater ~~the rewards which may be earned by membership in the group and the~~ the anticipation or expectancy of earning them."⁴⁴ Cartwright and Zander stress that group attractiveness is dependent upon both the group size, goals, activities, and status it carries, as well as the individual needs for affiliation, recognition and security.⁴⁵ They also propose that the "valence of a group will, for any given person, de-

⁴³ Herbert A. Simon, Donald W. Smithberg, and Victor A. Thompson, Public Administration, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), p. 84.

⁴⁴ Bernard M. Bass, Leadership, Psychology, and Organizational Behavior (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960), p. 60.

⁴⁵ Darwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander, Group Dynamics, Research and Theory, (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Company, 1960), p. 72.

pend upon the nature and strength of his needs and upon the perceived suitability of the group for satisfying these needs."⁴⁶ Newcombe conceptualizes the attraction of individuals to each other in terms of reward associated, and punishment associated attitudes. He believes these attitudes, which involve the cognitive processes, then permits one to endow another with attributes and properties he finds rewarding or unrewarding. Newcombe presents the view that "Interpersonal attraction is paralleled by the attribution of reward value, and may be defined as an attitude characterized by the attribution or reward value positive or negative to a person."⁴⁷

One can see a close relationship between what is said above and both Vroom's concept of valence and Parson's discussion of action, set out in the previous chapter. Thus, if a work group is believed by an individual to be the "vehicle" upon which he can obtain positive outcomes, the group will take on a positive valence (cathexis) for his; however, if group association is not suitable as a means for satisfying existing needs, or after joining, the group ac-

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 72.

⁴⁷ Theodore M. Newcombe, "Varieties of Interpersonal Attraction. In Group Dynamics, Research and Theory, ed. D. Cartwright and A. Zander, (Evanston, Illinois: Row Peterson and Company, 1960), pp. 104-106.

quires unpleasant properties it will have a negative valence (cathexis) for him.

The valence or cathexis the group has for the individual is a composite of specific valences group variables have for satisfying the needs of the individual and it is important that some of these variables be identified in an effort to determine how they impinge upon worker satisfaction.

One of the more obvious sources of satisfaction will be the degree of attractiveness group members have for the individual and conversely the degree of attractiveness the individual has for the group.⁴⁸ Two studies by Van Zelst were intended to test the validity of this hypothesis.⁴⁹ These studies, carried out with construction tradesmen, were designed to test the impact of sociometrically arrang-

⁴⁸William F. Whyte, drawing heavily on the work of Sayles, Zalesnik, and Seashore, suggests that ethnic affiliation and age of group members are important determinants of group attraction. In addition, Whyte claims that workers prefer work groups of their own sex to mixed groups and that social class backgrounds have been found to be important to workmen when evaluating group attractiveness. William Foote Whyte, Men at Work (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, Inc. 1961), pp. 539-550.

⁴⁹Raymond Van Zelst, "Worker Popularity and Job Satisfaction." Personnel Psychology, 4 (1951), pp. 405-412. Also see, Raymond Van Zelst, "Sociometrically Selected Work Teams Increase Production." Personnel Psychology, 5 (1952), pp. 175-185.

ed work groups ("buddy" work teams) on individual satisfactions.⁵⁰ In these studies, workers were asked to select two other persons with whom they would like to work. Groups formed in this manner were believed to reduce intergroup disputes, improve productivity, and contribute positively to worker satisfaction. Results obtained confirmed that worker acceptance by his work team results in a "feeling of contentment and satisfaction in the job."⁵¹ The acceptance of the work team by the individual is also conducive to improve morale and was well summed up by the reported comment of one of the workers, "the work's a lot more interesting when you are working with your buddies. You certainly like it a lot better anyway."⁵² Not all situations lend themselves to the development of groups in this manner, however. Many times the individual does not have first hand knowledge of those persons he will be interacting with. In instances such as this, it has been argued that a person will prefer to be placed in a group which is

⁵⁰ In other words, groups were so designed to "bring individuals together who were capable of harmonious relationships, and so create a social group which could function at maximum of disruptive tendencies and processes." See Van Zelst, "Worker Popularity and Job Satisfaction," op. cit., p. 406.

⁵¹ Van Zelst, "Worker Popularity and Job Satisfaction." Op. Cit., p. 410.

⁵² Van Zelst, "Sociometrically Selected Work Teams Increase Production: op. cit., p. 184.

similar to the individual with respect to abilities and opinions. Both Zander and Havelin, and Berkowitz, Levy and Harvey in separate studies investigated this kind of condition experimentally.⁵³ These studies, involved groups of service personnel of equal rank. It was hypothesized that each individual has a need to evaluate his opinions and abilities, and that in making such evaluations, he compares himself with others. Thus, given a range of possible persons for comparison, the individual will tend to choose someone similar to himself. Results confirmed that persons have a desire for self evaluation, and that they choose to compare themselves with persons who are most like themselves. It was also found that individuals will choose to associate with persons who are similar to themselves and will avoid persons whose competence differs greatly from their own.

There is some evidence to suggest that the worker's satisfaction with his job is also related to his opportunity to communicate with other group members. Bavelas, for example, created groups in which it was necessary for members to solve problems through the exchange of information

⁵³ Alvin Zander and Arnold Havelin, "Social Comparison and Interpersonal Attraction." Human Relations, 13 (1960), pp. 21-32. Also see, Leonard Berkowitz, Bernard I. Levy, and Arthur R. Harvey, "Effects of Performance Evaluations on Group Integration and Motivation." Human Relations, 10 (1957), pp. 195-208.

among members.⁵⁴ Communication, however, could only be along predefined channels. Bavelas found that the average level of satisfaction was higher among members who could converse easily with one another than for those who were isolated from the others. Closely akin to the significance of communication on satisfaction, is the relationship of group size to worker satisfaction. In an attempt to explain the inverse relationship between the size of a group and the satisfactions of its members, Indik made an intensive study of group size in three organizations.⁵⁵ Specifically, he hypothesized that the size of a group has a direct and negative affect on communication channels, increases specialization, places greater reliance upon impersonal forms of control, and forces the use of inflexible bureaucratic rules and regulations which will in turn, result in lowered worker morale. Although the study did not confirm the effects of size on forms of group control and problems of coordination, it did indicate that larger groups retard communication, preventing the worker from actively participating in decisions, and therefore contributing to reduced

⁵⁴Alex Bavelas, "Communication Patterns in Task-Oriented Groups." In Group Dynamics, Research and Theory, (3rd edition), op. cit., pp.503-511.

⁵⁵Bernard P. Indik, "Organization Size and Member Participation." Human Relations 18 (1965), pp. 339-350.

morale.

In this section a variety of group related factors and their consequences have been discussed. It must be pointed out however, that many of the group conditions discussed here will not have equal effect on all workers. Indeed there are individuals who would prefer work situations which limit the amount of interaction they have with co-workers. Whyte, in exploring this problem states, "there are some individuals who are accustomed to interacting almost constantly, whereas there are others who feel at ease only when they are alone most of the time."⁵⁶ He goes on to point out that some people seem to look primarily to their superiors for approval whereas others look primarily to their peers and that group members who are peer oriented are more cohesive than when members are oriented toward organizational superiors. He sums up his argument by stating that "the individual who grows up under the firm (and accepted) control of his parents and who has little peer group experience will tend to be vertically oriented; the individual who does not experience such parental control and who has led an active peer group life will tend to be horizontally oriented."⁵⁷ It does seem

⁵⁶William Foote Whyte, op. cit., pp. 529-530.

⁵⁷William Foote Whyte, op. cit., p. 543.

plausible to assume, nevertheless, that all persons value some interaction with their co-workers, that they wish to accept and be accepted by them, and that when work conditions prevail which inhibits the achieving of these goals the individual experiences some measure of dissatisfaction.

Wages

The importance wages play in the determination of worker satisfaction have been at the center of much controversy for several years. In the early part of this century, it was believed by some that the size of the worker's paycheck was highly correlated to his level of satisfaction. Thompson, for example, made reference to the primacy of worker income on satisfactions as a result of his three year investigation of industrial concerns located in twelve American states.⁵⁸ Taylor lent support to this view when he argued, "what the workmen want from their employers beyond anything else is high wages."⁵⁹

Subsequent studies, however, have created some doubt as to the centrality of wages in creating positive satisfaction, although there is reason to believe that it

⁵⁸ C. Bertrand Thompson, "Scientific Management in Practice." Quarterly Journal of Economics, 29 (1915), pp. 262-307.

⁵⁹ See. Frederick Winslow Taylor, The Principles of Scientific Management, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1914), p. 10.

is a major contributor to negative satisfaction. Haire and Gottsdanker, in the study of retail store clerks, for example, found that only nine percent of all things mentioned as to why an employee likes his job fell into the category of wages. In picking the most important determinant of a good job, pay came off even worse; only three percent of the workers picked it as the most important determiner of a good job. Yet, when asked to specify the aspects they would look for when seeking a new job, twenty-four percent of all factors mentioned fell into the category of wages.⁶⁰ Herzberg also found that responses to questions regarding conditions which make a worker satisfied or dissatisfied in his job showed wages to be one of the most frequent sources of satisfaction but infrequently mentioned as a source of satisfaction.⁶¹ Further, Locke and Bryan set about to test the hypothesis that "monetary incentives can affect behavior only through or by means of their effects on individual goals,

⁶⁰ Maison Haire and Josephine S. Gottsdanker, "Factors Influencing Industrial Morale." Personnel, 27 (1951), pp. 445-454.

⁶¹ Herzberg says that "Five factors stand out as determiners of job satisfaction - achievement, recognition, work itself, responsibility, and advancement.... (and) the major dissatisfiers were company policy and administration, supervision, salary, interpersonal relations and working conditions." See Frederick Herzberg, Work and the Nature of Man (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1966), pp. 72-74.

or intentions."⁶² Results confirmed that unless incentives have some instrumentality to enable the worker to arrive at a goal, his wages will not substantially affect his satisfactions. However, this is not to imply that wages in themselves can be a source of positive satisfaction. Rather, only to the extent that workers are inhibited from reaching the goals they aspire to, because of their income, will wages be a form of dissatisfaction; the reaching of these goals, however, does not conversely mean that wages are a source of positive satisfaction, the satisfaction, as Herzberg points out, actually lies in the attainment of the goal.⁶³

It is believed that so long as wages remain above a certain minimum, therefore satisfying basic economic needs, and so long as increased income is not instrumental in the satisfying of higher level needs an increase in earnings will not substantially change worker

⁶²Edwin A. Locke and Judith F. Bryan, "Goals and Intentions as Mediators of the Effects of Monetary Incentives on Behavior." Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 3 (1968), pp. 157-189.

⁶³See, Frederick Herzberg, Bernard Mausner, and Barbra Bloch Snyderman, The Motivation to Work (New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1959), p. 117.

satisfactions.⁶⁴ However, should the level of pay be so low as to pose a threat to the satisfaction of importantly held needs, income will then act as a source of dissatisfaction.⁶⁵

It has been suggested that satisfaction levels stemming from the receipt of wages is dependent, not so much on the absolute amount of these earnings, but on the relationship between the amount and some standard of comparison used by the individual.⁶⁶ Thus, if a workman compares himself to a co-worker who he "views" as having fewer credentials, it can be expected that the worker will

⁶⁴ Katz and Kahn point out that workers earn rewards merely through membership in an organization. Government, industry and educational institutions offer retirement pensions, sick leave, health examinations and other forms of fringe benefits as well as cost-of-living and across-the-board wage increases. Many of these benefits however are provided without differentiation of organizational members and are therefore not a source for providing increased positive satisfactions. Daniel Katz and Robert L. Kahn, The Social Psychology of Organizations (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966), pp.336-389.

⁶⁵ See Mason Haire and Josephine S. Gottsdanker, op. cit., p. 452.

⁶⁶ Lawler and O'Gara, borrowing from Adams, hypothesize that "inequity exists for Person whenever he perceives that the ratio of his outcomes to inputs and the ratio of Other's outcomes to Other's inputs are unequal either (a) when he and Other are in direct exchange, or (b) when both are in an exchange relationship with a third party and Person compares himself to Other." Edward E. Lawler, III, and Paul W. O'Gara, "Effects of Inequity Produced by Underpayment on Work Output, Work Quality and Attitudes Toward the Work." Journal of Applied Psychology 51 (1967), pp. 403-410.

experience some degree of dissatisfaction. Homans studied this very situation in a large firm. In a part of the billing department of the company, there were two groups of female clerical workers, cash posters and ledger clerks. One group, the cash posters, did the fairly routine and monotonous task of entering paid bills on the customer's account. The other group, the ledger clerks, were required to record address changes, make breakdowns of over and under payments and deal with other employees and customers on the phone. An employee had to be a cash poster for several years before becoming a ledger cler, However, although the ledger clerks had higher status, they were nearly all paid the same as cash posters. This situation led to some dissatisfaction among the women as results of an open ended interview indicated. Approximately 75 percent of the ledger clerks stated that "the situation was unjust and that they should get a few dollars more," because of their seniority and greater skill. Dissatisfaction was not in the wage level per se, but rather in the fact that it was the same as the lesser skilled cash posters.⁶⁷

The corollary of the situation investigated by

⁶⁷ George Homans, "Status Among Clerical Workers." Human Organization, 12 (1953), pp. 5-10.

Homan's is also true; that is, if a worker perceives that he has credentials equal to those of a co-worker, but is receiving less pay, he will feel dissatisfaction. Adams discusses an empirical study conducted by Clark which investigated this situation. Clark's study consisted of two groups of supermarket employees, cashiers and wrappers. Cashiers were generally full time employees who had higher status and better pay than the wrappers. The wrappers were mostly part time employees who were better educated than the cashiers, many being college students, and generally older than the cashiers. Results of interviews confirmed that wrappers were "quite explicit about the inequities in wages that existed."⁶⁸

Another situation of worker dissatisfaction resulting from wage disparities is postulated by Pritchard. Although not providing empirical verification, he proposes that dissatisfactions can arise when an individual perceives that the wages he is receiving are not compatible with what he believes his services to be worth. This "internal standard" as Pritchard identifies it, is not based on any worker-co-worker comparison, but rather on the in-

⁶⁸J. Stacy Adams, "Inequity in Social Exchange." In, Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, ed. Leonard Berkowitz, Vol. 2, (New York: Academic Press, 1965), pp. 176-211.

dividual's past experience and his knowledge of the "market value" of his skills.⁶⁹ Therefore, when wages are below the going rate for a position, some degree of dissatisfaction will arise.

This section has taken the stand, much in the tradition of Herzberg, that workman earnings do not largely contribute to positive satisfactions. Rather, money used to purchase goods and services not essential to the individual's well being serves only as a source of satisfying higher level needs. In other words, high pay as a direct reward for outstanding performance becomes instrumental in satisfying egoistic, recognition and/or achievement needs, but the money itself takes on very little valence. On the other hand, earnings will become the cause of dissatisfaction when insufficient wages prohibit the acquisition of essential items, food, clothing, shelter and the like. Minimum wage laws, government subsidized income payments and various private insurance benefits all serve to alleviate dissatisfactions arising from inadequate wages.

The major source of negative satisfaction is to be found in the equity of wages. That is, equity in the

⁶⁹Robert D. Pritchard, "Equity Theory" A Review and Critique." Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 4 (1969), pp. 176-211.

sense that earnings of the worker can be used as an external standard to compare his pay with co-workers or an internal standard to assess the adequacy of the wage relative to the demand of the job on the individual.

Summary

This chapter has presented several findings from specific research investigations concerning job conditions which reflect on worker satisfactions. The studies discussed have been selected on the basis of their ability to shed light on practical issues which are important wherever rank and file workmen are involved in the daily activities of multi-level organizations. However, most of the studies have shown a causal relationship between some characteristics of the job and job satisfaction which may lead one to believe that the satisfactions of an employee are dependent upon situations and conditions which exist in the work environment. In turn, one may be led to conclude that employee dissatisfaction may only be remedied by a close examination and change in the work situation. Nothing could be further from the truth. Although the working environment is extremely important, there looms the possibility that a workman's satisfaction, both positive and negative, have little to do with the work setting but rather are reflections of some personality trait he has.

The evidence presented in this chapter however, does not take onto account this idea that different people react in markedly different ways to the same environmental stimulus. Rather, what has been presented is representative of the average effects certain factors have on the working population. The mentioning of individual personality differences in no way reduces the usefulness of these studies, but rather serves to alert one to the fact that the "worker satisfaction coin" is two sided. On the basis of the findings of the studies reviewed, it may be concluded that a work role most conducive to job satisfaction appears to be one which provides a high degree of control by the incumbent over a variety of activities, has considerate and participative supervision, provides an opportunity for interaction with a worker's peers, and pays an equitable wage.

CHAPTER IV

THE IMPACT OF SATISFACTION ON TURNOVER, ABSENTEEISM, AND SATISFACTION

Introduction

The second chapter considered conditions which are thought to explain the psychological processes by which behavior is determined. In that chapter it was argued that a person has a system of needs arranged in a hierarchial order, the gratification of which are central to the satisfaction of the worker. It was also pointed out that all behavior takes place in situations which include both physical and human objects and that these objects take on a range of positive-negative values often referred to as a valence or cathexis. These valences, which are determined by the individuals affective responses to an object, are significant for the individual and become organized into what has been referred to as the individual's system of orientations. It was further stated that the system of orientations is composed of a great number of specific orientations, each of which will enable the worker to evaluate the goodness of various situations and conditions. Pursuing this thought, the third chapter examined various work factors which give rise to the range of satisfactions

a worker holds for his job.

What has not been considered to this point, however, is the implications that workman satisfactions have for determining work role behavior. It is therefore the intention of this chapter to review the evidence which distinguishes the behavior of satisfied workers from that of workers who report to be dissatisfied, by examining some of the literature which bears upon turnover, absenteeism, and job performance.

Job Satisfaction and Turnover

It may be assumed that workmen who reflect a positive valence for their job will also experience a greater force to remain at the job than those who experience a negative valence for their work.¹ This hypothesis may be considered supported if individuals who report a high level of job satisfaction are also less likely to leave their jobs than individuals who report a low level of satisfaction.

In a recent study, Hulin set about to validate the

¹ Vroom suggests that "the probability of resignation would be expected to be a function of the difference in the strength of two sets of forces - those acting on the person in the direction of remaining in his present job and those acting on him in the direction of leaving." Victor Vroom, Work and Motivation, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964), p. 177.

hypothesis posed above. Specifically, he wished to determine (a) if job satisfaction and turnover are related; and (b) whether increased job satisfaction could reduce first level worker turnover.² The company in which this study was carried out employed approximately 400 female clerical workers. Turnover of this staff was about 30% per year which was not only high on an absolute scale but also high relative to the twenty percent turnover rate fifteen other firms in the same area were experiencing. The company tested ranked either first or second in turnover in the last ten years among this group of companies. Ecological factors which contribute to high turnover rates (i.e. general economic conditions of the area, labor market conditions, and competition for staff from other firms) and the characteristics of females in the work force (age, marital status, previous experience, domestic responsibility, and pregnancy) were uncontrollables but were common to the other firms in the area who had much lower turnover rates. Therefore, consideration was given to the role job satisfaction and dissatisfaction played in contributing to the higher turnover rate. Results of the Job Description Index indicated that dissatisfaction occurred

²Charles L. Hulin, "Effects of Changes in Job Satisfaction Levels of Employee Turnover." Journal of Applied Psychology, 52 (1968), pp. 122-26.

with work content, pay, supervision, co-workers, and promotional opportunities.³

These results spurred the company's management into making several revisions. First wage and salary policies were made more consistent across departments (previously salary scales differed from department to department for similar work), secondly, regular salary reviews and a formalized merit-raise plan were instituted; thirdly, workers were encouraged to make changes in their own jobs so that they could have a more responsible job within their job classification, in other words, they were allowed to enrich their jobs; and fourth, a policy was initiated which encouraged intra-company transfers so that workers could move from one department to another where they felt they would have a better chance for promotion.

Two years after changes had been implemented, results showed that of the five areas examined for satisfaction, four showed significant increases. Only satis-

³The Job Description Index was constructed to measure five separate aspects of job satisfaction and to give a total satisfaction score. Satisfactions measured involve the type of work done, the equality of pay, the satisfaction with supervision, promotional opportunities and policies, and satisfaction with co-workers. See Patricia Cain Smith, Lorne M. Kendall, and Charles L. Hulin, The Measurement of Satisfaction in Work and Retirement (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1969).

faction with work content did not show a significant increase, although an increase was indicated.

Most important, however, is that the findings also pointed out that although there were no significant changes in the labor market over the two years of the study (age, level of education, job level, and so on, remained about the same), turnover rates were reduced to less than twelve percent, while mean turnover for the other fifteen companies averaged 24.3%.

Friedlander arrived at a similar conclusion as Hulin as a result of a study he conducted.⁴ Although, his experimental group were professional scientists and engineers rather than rank and file workmen as this paper is concerned, results indicated that such factors as supervisory opinions, management policies, and pay were among the factors given by 80% of the employees as reasons why they left the organization.

In a study of 2680 skilled females working in 48 sections of a large company, Ross and Zander found a strong correlation between repetitive work, need satisfaction and turnover.⁵ The results of the study showed that over a

⁴Frank Friedlander and Eugene Walton, "Positive and Negative Motivations Toward Work." Administrative Science Quarterly 9 (1964), pp. 194-207.

⁵Ian C. Ross and Alvin Zander, "Need Satisfaction and Employee Turnover." Personnel Psychology, 10 (1957), pp. 333-343.

four month period approximately seven percent or 169 women of the test group resigned. Exit interviews revealed a high degree of dissatisfaction with repetitiveness of the work which did not permit a feeling of achievement (defined as a feeling that one is doing something important when one is working) and recognition (defined as the extent to which the employee is informed about the quality of her work).

Earlier studies, notably by Wickert and Kerr, have also confirmed the negative correlation between turnover and satisfaction. In the Wickert study, for example, it was found that switchboard operators who felt they were making a significant contribution to the company, remained on force longer than girls who did not feel they could make decisions or that they were contributing to the concern.⁶

Kerr, as a result of two separate studies, found that the highest turnover rates were in departments; (a) where work tasks were high in monotony, (b) group morale was low, (c) jobs had low social prestige, and (d) hourly earnings of employees were low.⁷

⁶Frederick R. Wickert, "Turnover, and Employee Feelings of Ego Involvement in the Day-to-Day Operations of a Company." Personnel Psychology, 4 (1951), pp. 185-97.

⁷Willard A. Kerr, "Labor Turnover and It's Correlates." Journal of Applied Psychology, 31 (1947), pp. 366-371.

It should not be implied that turnover of employees is solely the result of dissatisfaction. A certain amount of turnover is unavoidable because of inevitable contingencies such as disability, retirement, and death. Some voluntary turnover is also beneficial if it enables people to utilize their abilities more effectively in other jobs.⁸ Also, too little turnover may be a reflection that employees are tied to their jobs by pension rights and other benefits related to long service. Nevertheless, a high index of labour turnover as the studies cited above contend is a warning that something is wrong with the satisfactions of the work force and although it does not diagnose specifically what is wrong, it does suggest that remedial action should be taken.

Job Satisfaction and Absenteeism

In a sense, a worker makes a daily decision as to whether or not he will appear for work. If, on any given day the consequences of not going to work are more attractive than those expected from going to work, the worker will stay home. The converse of this is also true, that is, if the valence of going to work is greater than the valence

⁸ Vroom advances the thought that "when the valences of outcomes are not attainable at the present job and the expectancy of attaining them at another job are greater than the valence for the job, then it can be expected the individual will move on." See Victor Vroom, op. cit. p. 178.

for staying home, the worker will go to work.⁹

Although there are a large number of reasons why a person will be present or absent from the workplace, it can be hypothesized that if a worker derives satisfaction from participating in his work role, he will be less often absent than the worker who is dissatisfied with his job.¹⁰ Implicit in this hypothesis is the rationale that job satisfaction is negatively related to absenteeism.¹¹

Evidence concerning the relationship between job satisfaction and absenteeism confirms the hypothesis. Sinha, for example, studied the relationship of attendance to job satisfaction in the works department of the Tata

⁹Victor Vroom, op. cit., p. 178.

¹⁰Supporting this statement are three outcomes of Gibson's review of the literature. He concluded that (1) Absences of personnel with high work identification will be less frequent but of a longer duration than absences of personnel with low identification. (2) Frequency of absences will vary inversely as their identification with the work group with which they are normally associated. (3) The more isolated socially a member of the staff, the more easily he can legitimize absence. It will be especially easy when work identification is low and when the staff member values social contacts at work. See Oliver R. Gibson, "Toward a Conceptualization of Absence Behavior of Personnel in Organizations." Administrative Science Quarterly 11 (1967), pp. 107-133.

¹¹Absenteeism for purposes of this paper may be considered as any unexcused absence which requires a replacement in the workrole for half a day or more. See Paul Pigars and Charles A. Myers, Personnel Administration (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1965), pp. 278-279.

Iron and Steel Company at Jamshedpur, India.¹² Analyzing the overall rate of absence of some 800 workers employed in the department, seventy-two workers with the highest rate of absenteeism and one-hundred-and-fifty-six with the lowest rate were isolated for study. Fifty workers from each of the high and low groups were randomly selected. A multi-dimensional job satisfaction schedule was given to each one of these workers and the score obtained on it was studied in relation to the attendance record. Results showed that the low absentee group had significantly higher job satisfaction. Analysis was also made of four component areas of job satisfaction; nature of the work, wages and security, supervisors and supervision, and the company's overall personnel policy. There was a general tendency among the low absentee group to have higher satisfaction scores in all four areas leading the researcher to conclude that these variables were important in the behavior which is manifested in absenteeism.

Patchen, in his study of absences of 1,500 non-supervisory workers in a Canadian oil refinery, found employee absence rates to be related to their feelings

¹²Durganand Sinha, "Job Satisfaction and Absenteeism." Indian Journal of Industrial Relations, 1 (1966), pp. 89-99.

of fair treatment with regard to promotions and fairness of pay.¹³ The measure of absences used were the frequency of absences in a year regardless of the length of each absence. Results showed that men who felt that their chances of promotion did not "measure up to what it was fair for them to be" had a significantly higher number of absences per year than those who felt that the pay for the jobs they were doing should have been higher, had significantly more absences than those who felt that their pay was fair. The most important characteristic which was noted in this study was the fact that "the actual pay rate showed little relation to absences. It was the perceived fairness of pay, not the actual amount, which counts."¹⁴

Argyle, Gardner, and Cioffi, in a study of 90 foremen in eight British manufacturing companies, found that foremen who had low subordinate absenteeism were found to be more democratic than those with high absenteeism.¹⁵

Metzner and Mann, in two separate studies which included males in both blue collar and low level white collar

¹³Martin Patchen, "Absence and Employee Feelings About Fair Treatment." Personnel Psychology, 13 (1960), pp. 349-360.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 358

¹⁵Michael Argyle, Godfrey Gardner, and Frank Cioffi, "Supervisory Methods Related to Productivity, Absenteeism and Labor Turnover." Human Relations 11 (1958), pp.23-40.

jobs, found that a fairly consistent negative relationship existed between job satisfaction and absenteeism.¹⁶ Although it should be noted that this relationship did not exist for women. However, Kornhauser and Sharp, studying the absence of women factory workers, reported that the "unfavorableness of job attitudes is slightly correlated with lost time."¹⁷

The evidence presented here confirms that there exists a negative relationship between job satisfaction and rank and file attendance although this relationship is not well established for women in non-supervisory work roles and further investigation in this area is required.

Job Satisfaction and Performance

It is commonly held that increased worker satisfaction automatically leads to increased productivity and conversely, when the worker experiences dissatisfying work situations, he accordingly responds with reduced productivity. This assumption apparently rests on the supposition that a workman will demonstrate his grati-

¹⁶ Helen Metzner and Floyd Mann, "Employee Attitudes and Absences." Personnel Psychology, 6 (1953), pp. 467-485.

¹⁷ Arthur W. Kornhauser and Agnes A. Sharp, "Employee Attitudes: Suggestions from a Study in a Factory." Personnel Journal, 10 (1932), pp. 393-404.

tude for the satisfying work conditions he experiences by more readily accepting management goals of higher output.

Several studies, however, have raised serious questions about the validity of this assumption. The classic study often cited was conducted by Kornhauser and Sharp in the Neenah, Wisconsin mill operated by Kimberly Clark Corporation.¹⁸ Between two and three hundred girls between the ages of 19 and 25 years were employed in various routine repetitive jobs. Questionnaires were used to determine the level of satisfaction with supervision, wages, work content, and personnel policies and were related among other things, to performance. The finding on this relationship is summed up in the statement, "Efficiency ratings of employees showed no relationship to their attitudes.... In one group of girls three of the four with the most unfavorable attitudes were first, second, and fourth in production and two with the most favorable attitudes were near the bottom in production."¹⁹

Gadel and Kriedt reported a study involving 193 male I.B.M. operators which was designed to intercorre-

¹⁸ Arthur W. Kornhauser and Agnes A. Sharp, op. cit.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 402.

late measures of job performance, job satisfaction, aptitudes for the work, and interest in the work.²⁰ Significant relationships were found between aptitude for the job and performance and interest in the job and satisfaction; but there was no relationship between worker satisfaction and performance.

Brayfield and Crockett, as a consequence of taking part in three unpublished studies plus a comprehensive examination of the literature, were led to conclude, "it appears that there is little evidence in the available literature that employee attitudes of the type usually measured in morale surveys bear any simple - or, for that matter, appreciable relationship to performance on the job."²¹

All the studies cited above have initially set out to investigate the ways in which increases in satisfaction might result in higher performance and have concluded that there is no correlation between these two variables. It is not clear, however, why one should propose that greater job satisfaction should result in greater productivity.

²⁰Marquette S. Gadel and Philip H. Kriedt, "Relationships of Aptitude, Interest, Performance and Job Satisfaction of I.B.M. Operators." Personnel Psychology, 5 (1952), pp. 207-212.

²¹Arthur H. Brayfield and Walter Crockett, "Employee Attitudes and Employee Performance." Psychological Bulletin, 52 (1955), pp. 396-424.

It seems possible that one's valence for a job is related to maintaining a sufficient level of output to avoid being fired, but it is difficult to see why the worker would wish to extend his efforts beyond the rate management has considered satisfactory. The universe of this condition seems much more reasonable however; that is, whenever a person's satisfaction for the job is dependent upon his performance, then it may be hypothesized that as satisfactions increase, productivity will be positively associated with it. (One must be cautioned from assuming that when satisfactions are on the wane, that output will follow. No studies were found to support this possibility at all and only further research will reveal the accuracy of this statement.)²² In other words it is proposed here that under these conditions performance causes satisfaction and not the other way around.²³

²² Goode and Fowler, for example, in a study of an automotives parts manufacturer, report a situation in which although morale was extremely low productivity was high. Employees however, were physically handicapped and suffered the deprived conditions because of fear they could not find employment elsewhere. W. J. Goode and I. Fowler, "Incentive Factors in a Low Morale Plant." American Sociological Review, 14 (1949), pp. 618-624.

²³ Lawler, in a recent study to determine if satisfaction leads to performance or if performance leads to satisfaction concluded that one can rule out the frequently found belief that satisfaction will affect performance. Edward E. Lawler, III, "A Correlational-Causal Analysis of the Relationship Between Expectancy Attitudes and Job Performance." Journal of Applied Psychology, 52 (1968), pp. 462-468.

Several studies serve to confirm this proposal, three of which will be discussed below.²⁴

Georgopoulos, Mahoney, and Jones sought to explain why some persons tend to be high producers while others, who are of similar backgrounds and doing similar jobs, exhibit considerable variety in their output.²⁵ Beginning with the notion that individuals have certain goals in common and that the achievement of these goals satisfy certain needs these researchers arrived at a "path-goal" approach to relate satisfaction and output. This approach is based on the following two assumptions: (1) Individual productivity is a function of one's motivation to produce at a given level and this motivation depends upon the particular needs of the individual as reflected in the goals toward which he is moving; (2)

²⁴See, Melvin Sorcher and Herbert H. Meyers, "Motivating Factory Employees." Personnel (January-February, 1968), pp. 22-28. I. R. Andrews, "Wages Inequity and Job Performance." Journal of Applied Psychology, 51 (1967), pp. 39-45. Edward E. Lawler, III, and Paul W. O'Gara, "Effects of Inequity Produced by Underpayment on Work Output, Work Quality, and Attitudes Toward the Work." Journal of Applied Psychology, 51 (1967), pp. 403-410. Stacy J. Adams and William B. Rosenbaum, "The Relationship of Worker Productivity to Cognitive Dissonance About Wage Inequities." Journal of Applied Psychology, 46 (1962), pp. 161-164.

²⁵Basil S. Georgopoulos, Gerald M. Mahoney, and Nyle W. Jones, Jr., "A Path-Goal Approach to Productivity." Journal of Applied Psychology, 41 (1957), pp. 345-353.

Secondly, the individual's productivity is dependent upon his perception regarding the relative usefulness of output or performance, as a path to the attainment of these goals. If a person perceives high productivity as a path to the goals he desires, he will be a high producer; if low productivity is seen as a path, he will be a low producer. Therefore if a worker has a need to be liked by his co-workers and sees high (low) productivity as a path to the attainment of this goal, he will follow this path and become a high (low) producer.

The data in the form of a questionnaire was collected from a medium sized, unionized, household appliance company; 621 members participated. Results showed that the percentage of high producers will be greater among workers having a high positive path-goal perception, than those with a low path-goal perception. When a given production rate is set, the percent rate of high producers, between those having a positive and those having a negative (or neutral) path-goal perception, will be greater among workers who have a high rather than a low need for the same goal.

Vroom investigated the relationship between worker ego involvement in a job and the level of the

workers performance.²⁶ Defining ego involvement as "the extent to which a person gets strong satisfaction from turning in a good performance," results obtained from 305 non-supervisory personnel indicated that employees who were high in ego-involvement rated high in performance, and those rated low in ego involvement rated low in performance. Obviously, those workers who found they received satisfaction from turning in a good performance were producing at a higher rate than those men who found little gratification for their needs coming from high output.

Finally, Locke and Bryan also related performance to satisfaction in an experimental situation, using university undergraduates.²⁷ Although the primary focus was on the effects monetary incentives had on behavior, they also found that when performance rates were related to the goals and intentions of the individuals output behavior was enhanced.

On the basis of the investigations presented here, two conclusions may be reached. The first is

²⁶ Victor Vroom, "Ego Involvement, Job Satisfaction, and Job Performance," Personnel Psychology, 15 (1962), pp. 159-177.

²⁷ Edwin A. Locke and Judith F. Bryan, "Goals and Intentions as Mediators of the Effects of Monetary Incentives on Behaviors," Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 3 (1968), pp. 157-189.

that there is little evidence to support the commonly held assumption that the increase in worker satisfactions will result in a corresponding improvement in performance. On the contrary, it seems that only when productivity is directly related to the satisfaction of worker needs, and then only when the worker perceives this connection, will satisfaction be positively related to output.

Summary

In this chapter an attempt has been made to explain the negative relationship which exists between job satisfaction and both turnover and absenteeism. This relationship is derived from the proposition that the valence of the work role to the worker is directly related to the strength of the force acting on him to remain at the job. In other words, workmen who are highly attracted to their jobs should be subject to stronger forces to remain in them than those who are less attracted to their job. These stronger forces to remain are reflected in a lower probability of behavior occurring which will take a worker from his job either temporarily or permanently.

The basis for the relationship between satisfaction and performance are more complex. It has been shown

that greater satisfactions will not result in higher productivity or improved performance. On the other hand, when effective performances are related to the attainment of some specific goal then it is expected that performance and satisfaction may be related.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Though knowledge about job satisfaction principles have been growing as a result of psychological experimentation and research there has been little systematic application of this body of knowledge to the specifics of organizational functioning. Thus this paper has endeavoured to bring together investigations which will join the findings of research to the daily activities of men in the workplace. This has been accomplished through an examination of the relationship employee job satisfactions have to selected work behaviors. Existing theories have been discussed which shed light on the psychological processes of workers which are important in their determination of satisfying and dissatisfying work conditions. Also discussed have been work variables which will affect the positive or negative attitudes of workmen. Finally, the discussion has focused upon an examination of the impact job satisfaction will have on absenteeism, turnover, and work performance. This chapter summarizes the contributions which have been

discussed and in the process ties together the various chapters into a meaningful unit.

Out of the search for an understanding of how workmen are motivated, there has emerged an appreciation of certain fundamental assumptions concerning human behaviors. First of all, it appears that a good deal of behavior is goal directed. Moreover, research has proposed that individuals are attracted or repulsed by various stimuli as a result of emotional or affective processes. These processes are largely determined by a variety of needs which are conceptualized as existing in a hierarchy or prepotency. In addition the models of organizational behavior propose that behavior takes place in situations which include both physical and human objects. These objects may be positively or negatively valued and this determines how a person will be oriented to them. Further it is suggested that the individual's behavior is a result of a summation of the various values (referred to as valences or cathexes) he assigns to factors which are related to certain outcomes. If the valence he has for a certain outcome is positive he will seek to attain that outcome if it is negative he will attempt to find another route to it or avoid the outcome completely.

If the worker is to develop a positive attitude towards his job it is important that the work itself provide sufficient variety, complexity, challenge, and exercise of skill to engage the abilities of the individual. Indeed if there is one confirmed finding in all the studies of worker morale and satisfaction it is the correlation between the variety and challenge of the job and the satisfaction of the workers. There are instances of people who do not want more responsibility and of people who are highly dissatisfied because of being placed in jobs which are too difficult for them, but these are exceptions, by and large, people seek gratification of their secondary level needs at the workplace and this is accomplished by the enrichment rather than the fractionalization of jobs. Where satisfaction with the content of the job is high, absenteeism and turnover is likely to be low.

Another source of satisfaction for workers often results from the approval and support provided by supervisors. The worker will feel gratified if the supervisor sees the worker as an individual whose rights and feelings should be considered. Supervisors who also practice a democratic form of leadership will often find the satisfaction of his workers to be positive. Some of the research reviewed in this dissertation suggests that

where such a supervisory climate exists, absenteeism and turnover rates are low.

Peer group approval is another important item in the development of worker satisfactions. Social support from peers can add to the attractiveness of the job and be a factor in the reduction of absenteeism and turnover. It will lead to increased productivity and quality of work, however, only if the norms of the peer group sanction such performance. In many industrial firms, the norms of the peer group set informal standards for production which are not optimal from the company's point of view. The norms of the group generally sanction productive cooperation and support actions which protect the firm from disaster. The values of the group seldom approve, however, "The eager member, who wants to save the company money through some brilliant suggestion or of the ambitious employee who seeks to train himself for a better position."¹

All too often, the approach taken in dealing with worker behavior problems has been oversimplified. Supervisors have either assumed that the organization was like a single individual, or that there was a single problem of satisfaction for the entire organization

¹See Daniel Katz and Robert L. Kahn, The Social Psychology of Organizations (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966), p. 362.

with a single answer. This attitude has often led to the use of blanket rewards to the workmen in an effort to improve their satisfactions on the job. However, when rank and file work roles permit only a few psychological rewards, the providing of increased material rewards in the form of wages, bonuses, and the like only lead to new difficulties, since this solution is by its nature not to do anything about the on-the-job situation which is causing the problem, but to pay the worker for the dissatisfaction he experiences. The result is that the employee is paid for his dissatisfaction while at work and his wages are given to him to gain satisfaction outside the work environment. Management, therefore, helps create a psychological set which leads the employee to feel that the basic causes of dissatisfaction are built into industrial life, that the rewards he receives are wages for dissatisfaction, and the employee must seek his satisfaction outside the organization.²

One may be inclined to conclude that an individual whose needs are being fairly well met will be motivated to improve his performance and contribute to greater productivity. This is an unwarranted assumption not well supported by the literature. Quite the contrary, there

²See Chris Argyris, "The Individual and Organization: Problems of Mutual Adjustment." Administrative Science Quarterly, 2 (1957), pp. 1-24.

is strong evidence to suggest that even though a workman's needs are being well met, that he is fairly well satisfied with his job and firm, and that he has a fairly high level of morale, he may not perform at his best; in fact, he may intentionally restrict his output and actually work against the company goal of increased production.³ The relation between need satisfaction, morale, employee job performance, and productivity is much too complex for one to assume that satisfaction of individual needs will automatically lead to better job performance and increased productivity. It seems that only if a worker views high productivity as a path to the attainment of one or more of his personal goals in the work situation will he tend towards higher output. Thus, it cannot be assumed without taking into consideration other relevant factors such as work group norms, that a positive correlation between need satisfaction and job performance will exist. It is important to recognize, however, that in the long run the chances of good employee performance and higher productivity are greater if employees obtain a reasonable degree of need satisfaction or if they perceive their present activities as leading toward need satisfaction in the future.

This paper has examined some of the existing

³Robert A. Sutermeister, People and Productivity (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969), p. 1-9.

theories and empirical research reports bearing on various aspects of the relationship between the satisfactions of workmen, their motivations, and certain behaviors they exhibit in their daily work activities. A number of job variables have been isolated and the general nature of their effects on job satisfaction have been determined. Thus it appears that a job which has, among other things, varied duties, a high degree of control over the work itself, considerate and participative supervision, an opportunity to interact with one's peers, and a pay schedule which provides equitable pay is most conducive to producing worker satisfactions. An assumption of this nature, however, could lead one to conclude that differences in job satisfaction are solely the result of differences in work variables. A conclusion such as this can be dangerous for it suggests that the level of satisfaction experienced by two individuals performing similar work roles is the same. Logic tells one to question this type of supposition and the research discussed earlier in this paper has pointed out that satisfaction levels among workmen performing similar tasks are not necessarily the same. Indeed, the degree of variation in their satisfactions may be great. This seems reasonable in view of the fact that individuals will differ greatly in their motives, values, and abilities. Care must be taken, however, to

prevent going to the other extreme and seeking the explanation for workman satisfactions solely through an examination of their personality. Rather, any study which attempts to understand the causes of job satisfaction must simultaneously study both factors; that is, consideration must be given to both the situational variables as they exist in the workplace and the personality characteristics of the incumbents occupying the work roles.

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